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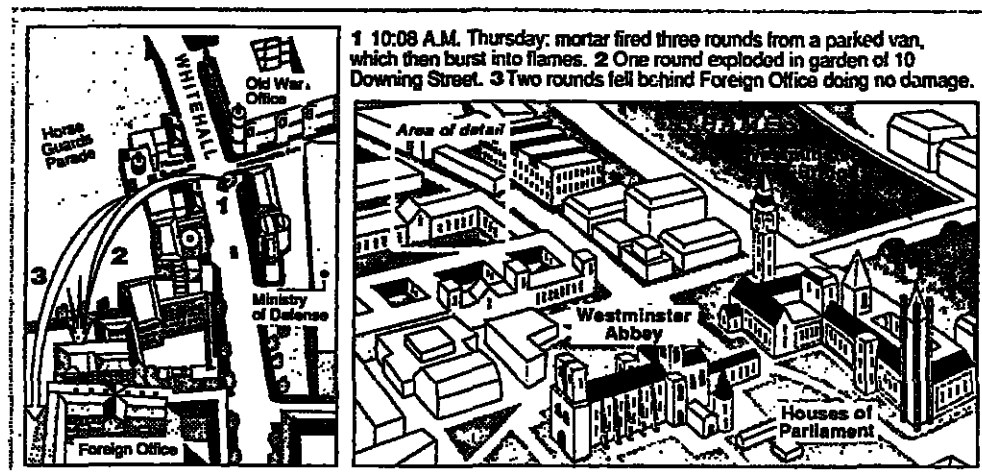
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## 'A deliberate attempt to kill the cabinet and do damage to the democratic system of government'



The van used in the attack on Prime Minister John Major's residence burning Thursday after three mortar rounds were fired from it.

## Major and His Ministers Are Safe as IRA Shell Hits 10 Downing Street



### 3 Rounds Launched From Van

By Craig Whitney  
New York Times Service  
LONDON — Terrorists, apparently from the Irish Republican Army, fired three mortar rounds Thursday from a van toward Prime Minister John Major's office in No. 10 Downing Street, scoring a hit in the backyard as he presided over the war cabinet.  
"I think we'd better start again somewhere else," a startled Mr. Major told the group as an explosion cracked the bulletproof windows in the cabinet room.  
Three people were slightly hurt, but there was no structural damage to the building, which is also the prime minister's official residence, and none of the country's top military and civilian officials was hurt.  
"I think it is clear that it was a deliberate attempt this morning both to kill the cabinet and to do damage to our democratic system of government," Mr. Major told the House of Commons.  
A few hours later, the IRA, which has vowed to keep fighting until the British leave Northern Ireland, said in a statement delivered to news organizations in Belfast that it had carried out the attack.  
"The operation had been planned over a number of months," the statement said. "Its inception predates both John Major's coming to power and the beginning of British involvement in the Gulf war."  
Immediately after the attack at 10:08 A.M., hundreds of police sealed off the entire central government area, from the Houses of Parliament to Trafalgar Square, leaving Whitehall looking deserted in a heavy snowstorm, recalling the atmosphere of the bombing raids of World War II.  
Tourists were still being kept away from their hotels inside the zone Thursday evening as forensic and weapons experts combed the streets for pieces of the weapons used. Employees at No. 10 Downing Street and the Foreign Office were locked in all day behind security gates.  
The unanimous view among government and police officials was that the method of the attack — using mortars with delayed-firing or remote-control mechanisms that the IRA has used in scores of attacks on police stations in Northern Ireland — made it clearly the work of that group rather than any Middle East terrorist organization.  
The IRA had never before used mortars outside Northern Ireland.  
Some officials said they were appalled that such an attack could be launched from a prime tourist site only 150 yards (140 meters) from the prime minister's office.  
The van had been abandoned next to the Ministry of Defense, despite a heightened terrorist alert in central London because of the war in the Gulf.  
Government and police officials implied that the van had been there only a few moments, but a former

## General Vows New Intensity in Air Strikes

By Barry James  
International Herald Tribune  
The commander of British forces in the Gulf, Lieutenant General Peter de la Billiere, pledged Thursday that allied forces will dramatically increase bombing of the Iraqi Army in what he called "a transition period between the air war and the land war."  
"I believe the land war is inevitable," he said — as did President François Mitterrand of France, who told a nationwide audience

the will of the Iraqi ground forces to fight to the point where we can put in our own troops with the expectation of a minimum of casualties and a quick victory.  
But Iraq, snarling under allied raids that hit roads, railways, bridges and other links in many parts of the country, declared via Baghdad radio that it was "waiting impatiently for its decisive battle against all the infidel forces."  
General Powell told the House Armed Services Committee that "the Iraqis are feeling the effects of our combat power, but we must not delude ourselves that they will give up overnight."  
He said that after establishing air supremacy, allied planes had begun to strike targets in and around Kuwait in earnest.  
General Powell, who left Washington for Saudi Arabia later Thursday with Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, said, "the fight is far from over," and cautioned that the coalition must be patient and "not allow Iraq to draw us into fighting the war on its terms."

A U.S. spokesman in Riyadh distanced himself from General de la Billiere's prediction that a ground war was inevitable.  
"I don't think I would attach the word inevitable to it," said Brigadier General Richard L. Neal of the Marines.  
"We have a campaign plan that we're sticking to," he said. "It's going well. It's going better than anticipated and I think I would leave it at that."  
He said that more than 2,600 sorties were flown on the 22d day of the war, and that the campaign was concentrating on "isolating the battlefield" by severing lines of communication, roads, bridges and supply centers.  
Defense Minister Pierre Joxe of France, visiting the Gulf, said aerial

Sorties  
□ 2,600 allied sorties flown Thursday for a total of more than 52,000 in 22 days of war.  
□ No Scud missiles have been fired at Israel or Saudi Arabia since Sunday. Israel has been struck by 29 missiles and Saudi Arabia by 28.  
Losses  
□ No reports Thursday of allied combat deaths, which left the toll at 12 Americans and 18 Saudis.  
□ A U.S. pilot was added to the list of missing in action; total rises to 43, including 25 Americans, 8 British, 1 Italian and 9 Saudis.  
□ No new allied prisoners of war Thursday; total remains 12: 8 Americans, 2 British, 1 Italian and 1 Kuwaiti.  
□ At least 79 Iraqi troops killed. No change Thursday.  
□ 2 Iraqi Su-22 attack jets were shot down fleeing to Iran, raising to 135 the number destroyed in the air or on the ground.  
□ U.S. spokesmen raised the total number of Iraqi planes in Iran to 134 — 109 fighters and 25 transports.  
□ No allied planes lost Thursday in combat, but a

U.S. F-18 crashed into the sea while returning to a carrier and the pilot was listed as missing. A U.S. helicopter also went down. To date, 21 allied planes lost in combat: 14 American, 5 British, 1 Kuwaiti, 1 Italian. Noncombat losses: 7 planes — 5 American, 1 British, 1 Saudi.  
Iraqi Claims  
□ More than 290 allied "air targets" downed, including planes and missiles; none reported Thursday. Iraq refers to action against "air targets" without further detail.  
□ 90 Iraqi soldiers killed to date; 428 Iraqi civilians killed, 650 wounded. No new figures Thursday.  
□ More than 20 allied prisoners held; no new reports Thursday.  
Assessment  
"I believe the land war is inevitable. There is no indication that the Iraqi Army is going to crack in the immediate future. We're now moving on to the next phase in this battle, which is going to be the ground war, probably the most difficult and certainly the final phase of the war."  
— Lieutenant General Peter de la Billiere, the British commander.

## Mitterrand Forecasts Land War This Month

By William Drozdiak  
Washington Post Service  
PARIS — President François Mitterrand, warning his countrymen that the Gulf conflict is entering "a difficult phase," said Thursday that a ground war had become inevitable and might be launched in the next few days.  
Declaring that the French people must brace themselves for combat that will be "a cruel test" and yield many casualties, Mr. Mitterrand said that the long-awaited land battle would "start in the coming days, perhaps a bit further ahead."  
"In any case," he said, "it will take place this month."  
He said he did not expect the conflict to last into the spring.  
Mr. Mitterrand said in a television interview that he did not know if President Saddam Hussein of Iraq would unleash chemical weapons, but he ruled out any escalation in kind.  
"I say no to any use of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons," he said. "It is a recourse to barbarian methods that I reject."  
The French leader said he profoundly regretted that war had become the only way to liberate Kuwait, which he insisted would remain the principal goal of the 29-nation coalition seeking to expel Iraq's occupation force.  
He said there was little risk that the struggle would grow into a wider conflict. But he added, "Given Iraq's formidable military arsenal, if we had not acted now we would have found ourselves faced with conditions in three or four years that could have erupted into world war."  
Once the war in the Gulf is concluded, Mr. Mitterrand said, See LAND, Page 4

## Cheney Predicts Growing Unrest in Soviet Union

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Dick Cheney warned Congress on Thursday that continued economic decline would lead to increased unrest and "perhaps even civil war inside the Soviet Union."  
The Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe is likely to continue, Mr. Cheney said, but he cautioned that internal turmoil presented an increasing danger to the Soviet Union's neighbors.  
He also told the House Armed Services Committee that the prospects for arms control treaties with the Soviet Union "are in doubt."  
Mr. Cheney testified a day after Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d told another House committee that he had recommended that President George Bush delay submitting to the Senate the conventional forces treaty, which was signed by 22 nations in November.  
The defense secretary reiterated that there were difficulties both with the strategic arms treaty currently being negotiated and with the conventional forces pact already signed but not yet submitted for Senate ratification.  
"The prospects for arms control are in doubt," he said. "Until we're

satisfied of their good faith, there will continue to be problems."  
Mr. Cheney said that prospects on the economic front looked no better.  
"I have to believe there will be continued economic decline," he said. "That means increased unrest, and the possibility which the Soviets frankly discuss among themselves, perhaps even civil war inside the Soviet Union."  
"The economic situation in the Soviet Union today is as bleak as it has been in the last 50 years," he said. "There is no doubt that the Soviet economy is collapsing, the only question is how fast it is shrinking."  
He added, "The greatest threat to the neighbors of the Soviet Union in the future may well come more from Soviet inability to control events inside the Soviet Union than from any conscious policy of trying to expand their influence by military means."  
But General Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who testified with Mr. Cheney, told the committee that tradi-



Defense Secretary Cheney testifying on Capitol Hill on Thursday before leaving for Saudi Arabia.

## Jordan's Shift Prompts U.S. Review of Aid Plan

By Paul F. Horvitz  
International Herald Tribune  
WASHINGTON — The United States is reviewing its foreign aid package to Jordan in the aftermath of a speech by King Hussein in which he criticized U.S. conduct of the war against Iraq and abandoned Jordan's professed neutrality. State Department officials said Thursday.  
"Our aid package to Jordan is under review," said V. Kim Hoggard, a senior deputy assistant secretary of state. She said she did not know how long the review would take or what the outcome might be.  
Jordan was to receive \$55 million this year in U.S. aid.  
One U.S. official, who asked not to be identified, said U.S. concern over Jordan's stand during the Gulf crisis had grown steadily since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2.  
"There were a variety of factors, culminating in yesterday's speech," the official said, referring to King Hussein's televised address Wednesday evening.  
One U.S. official, quoted by the Reuters news agency, said he had little doubt that Jordan would receive continued U.S. funding "but the question is how much."

Ms. Hoggard said the review only involved U.S. foreign aid, not funds pledged by U.S. allies to assist nations suffering economically as a result of the Gulf crisis.  
Until the speech Wednesday, President George Bush had refrained from directly criticizing King Hussein, a longtime U.S. ally who has been regarded as a moderating voice in the Middle East. Mr. Bush has expressed sympathy for the king's domestic political situation. The large Palestinian population in Jordan has backed Iraq in the Gulf crisis.  
But in an appearance in New York on Wednesday night, the president acknowledged a major disagreement with Jordan.  
Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d told a congressional committee earlier Thursday that although aspects of the king's speech were "very sad" it was important to "keep our lines of communication open" to Jordan.  
Mr. Baker, noting King Hussein's address, said: "To allege that our effort against Iraq is unjust and exceeds the United Nations resolution is something that is patently not true. We find it very sad that the king omitted in this rather long speech any reference whatsoever, not one single reference, to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait."

## Kiosk

Don't Ease Sanctions, Africans Say  
HARARE, Zimbabwe (AP) — African heads of state said Thursday that it was too early to ease economic sanctions against South Africa despite the bold changes introduced by President Frederik W. de Klerk.  
On the second day of a summit meeting reviewing the changes, leaders of the seven so-called Frontline States neighboring South Africa said they would not recommend any relaxation of the economic embargo.  
"While we genuinely praise the efforts of de Klerk, we still see a lot of danger in relaxing on the question of sanctions," President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said.  
Crossword Page 9. Weather Page 2.  
Gold \$430.00  
Silver \$5.35  
Oil \$21.22  
Dollars 1.4548  
Pound 1.9905  
Yen 128.41  
FF 4.982  
Dow Close 2,810.64  
Down 20.30

## Bull Back on Wall Street? Some Say So

By Diana B. Henriques  
New York Times Service  
NEW YORK — Is it the beginning of the end of the bear market? Or is it a fool's rally that will fizzle with the next grim headline from the Gulf or the next disappointing statistics from Washington?  
Some of Wall Street's leading market forecasters — Steven G. Einhorn, a partner at Goldman, Sachs & Co., and Byron R. Wien, the market strategist for Morgan Stanley & Co., for example — are declaring the bear market dead. A new bull is born, they proclaim. Of course, so does Joseph Granville, the flamboyant forecaster who in September was warning of a 1929-style crash and depression.  
Mr. Wien observed: "The Standard & Poor's 500 is up from about 310 in January to more than 350 now — in less than four weeks. I don't know how high it's going, but that is a good year's performance in a month."

The Dow Jones industrial average, partly in reaction to strong gains posted earlier this week, fell 20.30 points to 2,810.64 Thursday. Laggards have already missed part of this rally, if one measures the market's performance from Oct. 11, the date of its lowest point since Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2. More recently, "the Dow was at 2,475 just two days before the war broke out, and that was only 100 points above its October low," said Mr. Einhorn. "The bear market ended, and it ended in October," he added. "But this is a bull market, and in a bull, there is a lot more to go than just the 12 to 13 percent we've had."  
The most commonly cited reason for the investor enthusiasm is the recent efforts by the Federal Reserve to spur the economy and increase the available money supply through the easing of interest rates. "The market has a rule: Never fight the Fed," Mr. Wien said. Some technical analysts, who monitor the market by studying its mathematical rela-

tionships, have also declared an end to the bear market. There are technicians, for example, who define the arrival of a bull market as that point when the major market barometers — the Dow industrial average, the S&P 500, the Dow averages of transportation and utility stocks — have advanced beyond their average level for the previous 200 days. Last week, those widely followed market barometers did just that, said Eric Miller, chief investment officer at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette.  
One factor supporting the bullish case is the amount of cash in the hands of institutional money managers. At the end of December, for example, stock mutual funds had 11.4 percent of their assets in cash. That was down from a record 12.9 percent at the end of October, shortly after the market's pivot point, but it is well above normal.  
Most institutional investors — pension

See MARKET, Page 12







# WAR IN THE GULF: In Baghdad's daytime streets, music and crowds — and the quest for food and fuel

## In Baghdad, Search For Food and Fuel Outweighs Fear

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**  
**BAGHDAD** — Despite another night of air raids, Baghdad residents on Thursday adjusted with resignation to the threat of bombs and missiles, appearing to be more concerned with obtaining food, water and fuel.

In the nightly raids, the crash of bombs shatters windows and jolts people from their beds. But in the daytime, streets often are bustling. Music wafts from coffee shops and crowds on street corners gather around radios, listening to the latest war news.

Schools and most government offices have been shut, however, and many shops remain closed.

There was no electricity and little water in Baghdad on Thursday. Gas stations were closed for the second day after the Oil Ministry stopped supplying even rationed gasoline.

Banks were open but they posted signs saying, "Withdrawing money is suspended until further notice."

The missile attacks and air raids have prompted many people to flee the city. But some have returned from the countryside after finding the weather and fuel, electricity and water scarce.

"When the war started, we thought this would be a horrible thing to be in, and we moved out," a resident said. "Now, we are back and getting used to it."

## U.S. Assures Syria on War Targets

**DAMASCUS** — President George Bush telephoned President Hafez Assad of Syria to assure him that U.S. and allied planes were not targeting Iraqi civilians or religious sites, Syrian officials said Thursday.

"President Assad expressed his satisfaction that civilians and religious places were not targeted," the officials said of the telephone conversation, which took place Wednesday evening.

The officials said the Syrian leader "affirmed that it was essential that efforts be made to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the region after the settlement of the Gulf crisis."

Syrian troops in the multinational alliance in Saudi Arabia saw action for the first time in the Gulf war this week. The official Syrian press agency, SANA, reported Wednesday that Syrian troops repulsed an Iraqi attack on a forward observation post on Monday.

The report was the first official confirmation of the clash by Damascus. "Soldiers at the post confronted the attacking forces and forced them to retreat," the report said. "Our forces sustained no losses."

Saudi and allied spokesmen first reported the clash on Tuesday. The officials said Mr. Bush had also assured Mr. Assad that Washington would work for a Middle East peace settlement when the Gulf war was over.

Returning residents said there was no escape from the air raids. One man, Farouk Hassan, sought refuge for his family in the northern town of Sulaymaniyah, in northern Iraq, because he thought it would be safer than Baghdad.

But after several raids on the town, Mr. Hassan returned to Baghdad on Wednesday.

His villa on the Tigris River was pulverized a few hours later, killing him, his wife and three of his five children, according to a neighbor, Hassan Bayani.

Mr. Bayani, standing in the ruins of his neighbor's house, said he did not believe U.S. assurances that the allies were doing their utmost to avoid civilian casualties.

"It's against the Iraqi people that he is waging war," he said, referring to President George Bush. "It's no longer a matter of liberating Kuwait, but rather to pulverize Iraq and to pulverize us."

Baghdad radio said the allies carried out 33 air raids on the capital late Wednesday and early Thursday.

Western reporters in Baghdad have been shown damage to what have been identified as civilian sites. But the journalists said they had not been allowed to see damage to military or strategic installations.

During a tour of Nassiriya, 400 kilometers south of Baghdad, organized by the Information Ministry, reporters were shown the remains of three bridges over the Euphrates River. An official communiqué broadcast by Baghdad radio on Wednesday said 135 people had died in the attacks. Officials later raised the toll to 200 dead and 100 missing.

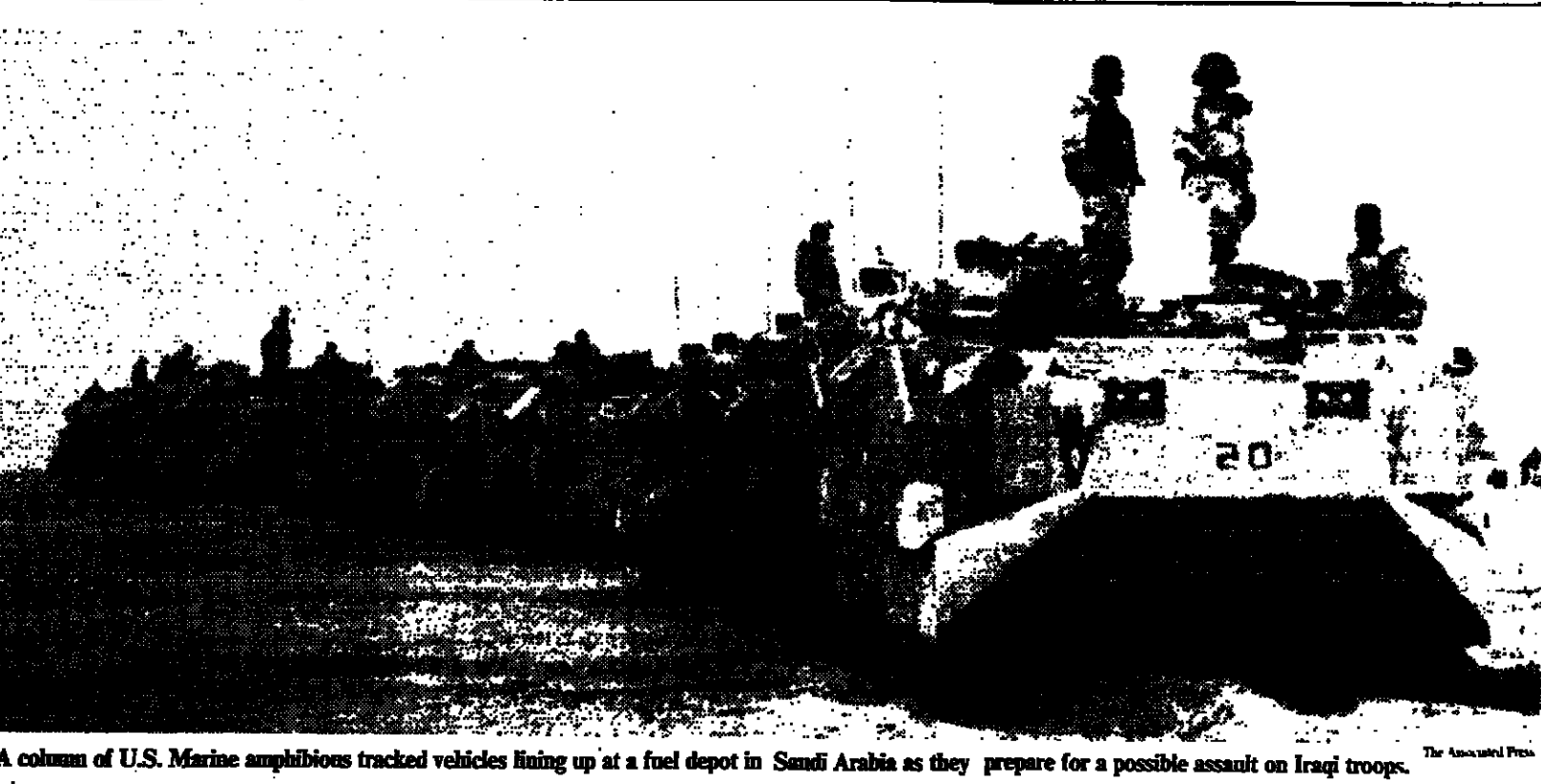
In the raids early Thursday, reporters said that at least six civilians had died and 15 were wounded.

The raids apparently were aimed at bridges across the Tigris. The Jumu'ahiyah bridge in Baghdad, heavily damaged Wednesday, was hit again Thursday.

In one of the attacks, believed to have involved cruise missiles, a 50-meter (54-yard) section of the bridge crashed into the Tigris.

Journalists said they saw 10 damaged houses and, at a Baghdad hospital, four charred bodies.

Iraqi newspapers are filled with photographs of civilian casualties as well as of homes, mosques and churches hit in the bombardments.



A column of U.S. Marine amphibious tracked vehicles lining up at a fuel depot in Saudi Arabia as they prepare for a possible assault on Iraqi troops.

## Was U.S.-Syria Exchange Tied to Agents' Deaths?

By Michael Wines

New York Times Service

**WASHINGTON** — Two or three undercover agents believed to be working for Israel in a Syrian-based terrorist group were unmasked and killed last fall, not long after the United States gave the Syrian government information about terrorist activities in the country, several Bush administration officials say.

The link between the two events has not been proved. But officials said U.S. experts believe that terrorists obtained the intelligence information given to Syrian leaders and used it to track down the agents within the terrorists' ranks.

"It is a causal relationship," one person said. "There is no doubt in my mind."

By one account, the agents killed were two or three Palestinians who had penetrated the terrorist group on behalf of Israel's intelligence service, Mossad.

Other officials refused to disclose the number of agents or their sponsor, but they said they worked either for Mossad or a Western intelligence service.

The United States first learned of the agents' deaths in November or December. It has remained a tightly held secret, in part because at a politically difficult time it raises the question of whether Syria deliberately misled U.S. diplomatic communications to assist a terrorist group.

The United States took unusually bold steps this fall to improve its relations with Syria after the Syrians agreed to join the military coalition opposing Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

President George Bush met in Geneva in

November with President Hafez Assad of Syria, despite the fact that Syria is on a U.S. roster of nations that sponsor international terrorism.

Syria and the Bekaa region of Lebanon, which is controlled by Syria, are longtime breeding grounds for Palestinian terrorism. But Damascus has lately sought to distance itself from groups that attack targets other than Israel.

The major remaining Syrian-based group, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, is believed to have engineered the bombing over Scotland of a Pan American jet in 1988 in which 270 people died.

Washington has demanded that Syria expel the Popular Front-General Command and its leader, Ahmed Jibril. Syria has refused to do so without more explicit evidence of the group's role in the bombing.

The identity of the terrorist group involved in the killings of the agents last fall could not be conclusively determined.

Israel was said by one person to have protested to Washington about the disclosure of intelligence information to Syria, but the U.S. response could not be learned.

The U.S. officials, which include civilian and military experts on intelligence and the Middle East, declined to be identified because of the sensitivity of the issue.

"It's safe to say it did hurt us," one said. "Apart from Syria's role in the killings, the incident also calls into question how the identities of friendly intelligence agents in the Middle East — a secret as well as cloak as any in espionage — could have been revealed, even inadvertently, to Syria."

Several officials interviewed said the disclosures appear to have sprung from a strong protest about Syrian terrorist activities that Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d delivered to Mr. Assad in a meeting in Damascus on Sept. 14.

The meeting was said to have been preceded by a sharp debate between intelligence experts and Bush administration officials, led by the State Department, over how strongly the United States should confront Mr. Assad with evidence of Syrian involvement in terrorism.

Officials said the administration argued that Mr. Assad should be given an unusually detailed briefing about the actions of Syrian-based terrorists, to impress upon him the weight of the evidence against his government. Intelligence officials are said to have warned that such a briefing would put undercover agents and methods of gathering information at risk.

"It was quite an argument," said one official who has been informed of the debate. "The intelligence guys finally told them, 'O.K., but the blood will be on your hands if something happens.'"

Asked about the deaths, the State Department spokeswoman, Margaret D. Tutwiler, said in a statement: "Any suggestion that Secretary Baker handed over a demarche that led to the death of any individual is categorically untrue."

She declined to confirm whether any deaths had taken place. But in what could be construed as an alternate explanation for the events in Syria, she added that the United States had also received a "credible and serious threat" against a U.S. ambas-

sador in the region last year, and had acted on it.

She said: "Any demarche that may have been passed on such a subject would have been done solely to protect the life of an American ambassador and would be fully coordinated within this government, including our intelligence community."

Miss Tutwiler declined to elaborate, citing national security concerns. Other officials said that the United States had intercepted a flood of serious threats and death plots against U.S. diplomats since the invasion of Kuwait, and had quietly informed Syria in some cases in an attempt to thwart them.

Those officials said that they knew of no cases in which such communications had compromised intelligence agents or led to deaths.

Some officials did not exclude the possibility that the agents' deaths were coincidental to administration contacts with Syria. One said the terrorist group could have concluded on its own that it had been penetrated after several of its planned operations went awry.

"This is a dangerous outfit, with very skilled people and trade craft sufficiently good" to have conducted an internal spy hunt, that official said.

Most others, however, said they believe that the terrorists were given or stole data from Syria that enabled them to uncover the agents.

Undercover penetrations of terrorist groups are among the most difficult tasks in all espionage, and so the losses of agents are viewed as especially grave.

## Israeli Army King Hussein Gambles on Arab Support

### Israeli Army Moves North Of Lebanon Buffer Zone

New York Times Service

**JERUSALEM** — Israeli soldiers thrust deep into southern Lebanon early Thursday to attack Palestinian guerrilla bases and Israel vowed that such strikes would continue unless the Lebanese Army, which has been deployed in the area, ejected the Palestinians.

In the predawn darkness, Israeli commandos attacked a Palestine Liberation Organization training base and artillery batteries in the Iqlim el Tufah region. The raid followed 10 days of attacks and counterattacks between Palestinian forces firing rockets at Israeli targets and Israeli shelling and bombing Palestinian positions.

In a statement, an Israeli Army spokesman said a military force had struck "a number of terrorist targets" in southern Lebanon and that "the terrorist targets were hit and destroyed." The statement said that vehicles, bases and an ammunition depot had been hit. It said there were no Israeli casualties.

Officers in Israel's northern command said that the army has been attacking Palestinian targets in southern Lebanon nightly.

For days, military analysts in Israel have theorized that the fierce Israeli Army reaction to the Palestinian guerrillas stems in part from frustration over its inability to respond to Iraqi missile attacks.

Hours after the Israelis withdrew from Iqlim el Tufah, Lebanese troops moved in as part of their return to southern Lebanon for the first time since 1975.

For years, the area has been controlled by Arab guerrilla groups fighting both Israel and one another. The area now serves as a base for the PLO's Fatah faction, as well as several other Palestinian groups.

In late January, Palestinian guerrillas in Iqlim el Tufah began firing dozens of rockets into Israel's self-declared security zone in southern Lebanon. Palestinians in Lebanon said the PLO was hoping to open a symbolic second front against Israel in support of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

A communiqué issued Thursday by the Defense Ministry warned that Israel would "continue to exercise its right to self-defense if terrorist attacks are carried out against it from Lebanon."

The statement said that Israel "expects the deployment of Lebanese Army units north and west of the security zone and in the Jezzine enclave will bring about the removal of terrorist organizations from these areas."

By Alan Cowell

New York Times Service

**AMMAN, Jordan** — In a region whose political bazaar rarely fixes absolute prices and where realities are filtered through emotive perception, King Hussein of Jordan has taken two gambles by aligning himself with Iraq.

One is that he can contain and lead his restive domestic constituency. That seems a better bet than the other: that he can secure wider Arab support in a region fissured by the allied onslaught against Baghdad.

Both hinge on competing notions of Arab legitimacy that are likely to determine the credibility of Arab leaders and the flow of their politics however the Gulf war is concluded.

In a national address on television Wednesday night, the Jordanian monarch transformed his nation's tilt toward Iraq into an open embrace, depicting the United States and its allies as the lineal successors of European imperialists out to destroy this region's pride and mold it to their will.

He said, "defending us all" against the intruders.

President Saddam Hussein's battered nation, in this vision, became the bulwark of Arab aspiration, not the brutalizer of Kuwait, reflecting a political tunnel vision that looks past the causes of the allied assault on Iraq to the region's perennial battle against alien intrusion.

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The statement said that Israel "expects the deployment of Lebanese Army units north and west of the security zone and in the Jezzine enclave will bring about the removal of terrorist organizations from these areas."

In part, the monarch's intention, according to Western and other specialists, was to re-assert control of his own land, whose population is more than half Palestinian — frustrated and eager to grasp at Iraq's promises of Palestinian statehood and Arab redemption.

There were some shadings. While King Hussein did not allude to Kuwait at any point in his 30-minute address, he did not mention

Saddam Hussein by name either. Moreover, as he spoke repeatedly of the imminent destruction of Iraq, he was perhaps hinting to his people that they might well have to contemplate the defeat of an Arab leader whose stature has grown in Jordan as the war has unfolded.

Yet, by setting the markers of domestic politics, the king risked further alienating the United States and jeopardizing a close personal relationship with President George Bush, who had sought from the king a public statement of understanding for U.S. views.

That was part of the first and more certain gamble: Washington, the king calculated, would understand his predicament at home and would not wish to close off communication with an Arab leader who has, during 37 years in power, played an important role in much of U.S. regional diplomacy.

The second gamble, far less certain, reflected a calculation that, within the Arab world, the only leaders likely to emerge from the Gulf war with credibility and legitimacy would be those who had not collaborated in the spilling of Arab blood.

"It is very difficult for anyone who has been party to the war camp" to have a real say in the future," said Ibrahim Izzeddine, Jordan's information minister and a former ambassador to Washington. "You have to have credibility."

By "war camp," he meant those Arabs supporting the U.S.-led coalition in the Gulf, notably Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

In any society there are some symbols for legitimacy to influence and to continue to influence decisions," he said. "You can't do it if you put yourself in the war camp."

West European diplomats familiar with the region acknowledge that the argument exerts a strong pull. Syria, for instance, supported Persian Iran against Arab Iraq throughout the 1980-88 Gulf War and "paid the price of Arab isolation for doing so," one envoy said.

In his speech, King Hussein singled out the leaderships of Egypt, Turkey and Saudi Arabia as enemies of the Islamic faith who had brought shame upon Islam by supporting the United States in what he called the destruction of an Arab nation: Iraq.

That might seem to signal an incautious, even reckless, desire to alienate regional regimes, particularly Saudi Arabia, whose oil wealth is a potential savior of Jordan's fallen economy.

Yet, according to Mr. Izzeddine, the view from Amman is that as the war unfolds, more and more Arabs and Muslims will feel repulsed by the allies' assault.

The extension of this argument is that King Hussein is trying to go over the heads of Arab regimes to secure a broader constituency among their people. That, Mr. Izzeddine said, reflects the king's sense of the historical role played by his Hashemite dynasty, once the custodians of Islam's holiest shrines in what is now Saudi Arabia.

"The king belongs to a historic family. He believes he has a historic responsibility. His family has played a very important role in the Arab world and in shaping public opinion that goes beyond the borders of any state," Mr. Izzeddine said.

While the king's statement seemed unequivocally pro-Iraqi, it did not commit the king to specific action. Despite the abandonment of political neutrality, there is no suggestion that Jordan wishes to enter the war.

"We are not party to the conflict and we are not going to be drawn in," Mr. Izzeddine said. Moreover, he said, Jordan still supports the return of "legitimacy" to Kuwait and has not abandoned its statements criticizing Iraq's Aug. 2 invasion.

The timing of the speech, according to senior officials, reflected his growing concern that the intensity of the allied onslaught might soon preclude peace efforts.

Within the Arab world, the only leaders likely to emerge from the Gulf war with credibility and legitimacy would be those who had not collaborated in the spilling of Arab blood.

"It is very difficult for anyone who has been party to the war camp" to have a real say in the future," said Ibrahim Izzeddine, Jordan's information minister and a former ambassador to Washington. "You have to have credibility."

By "war camp," he meant those Arabs supporting the U.S.-led coalition in the Gulf, notably Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

In any society there are some symbols for legitimacy to influence and to continue to influence decisions," he said. "You can't do it if you put yourself in the war camp."

West European diplomats familiar with the region acknowledge that the argument exerts a strong pull. Syria, for instance, supported Persian Iran against Arab Iraq throughout the 1980-88 Gulf War and "paid the price of Arab isolation for doing so," one envoy said.

In his speech, King Hussein singled out the leaderships of Egypt, Turkey and Saudi Arabia as enemies of the Islamic faith who had brought shame upon Islam by supporting the United States in what he called the destruction of an Arab nation: Iraq.

That might seem to signal an incautious, even reckless, desire to alienate regional regimes, particularly Saudi Arabia, whose oil

wealth is a potential savior of Jordan's fallen economy.

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## The Analysts' View: Day 22

Four strategists pick the major development in the last 24 hours of the war.



Robert E. Hunter, François Heisbourg, Ze'ev Schiff, Abdul-Karim Abou-Nasr

**ROBERT E. HUNTER**

Vice president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

The dispute over the effectiveness of air attacks on Iraq's Republican Guard goes much deeper than tactics and timing of a ground assault. It also involves the implicit promise to the American people that the high-tech arms bought in the 1980s would sharply reduce U.S. casualties in conflict. A bruising battle would not sip American will, but it could have a major impact on willingness to go to war again and on the structure of combat forces.

**FRANÇOIS HEISBOURG**

Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

In military terms, there may be no compelling reasons for initiating large scale offensive operations in the immediate future. There is some virtue in allowing air operations to continue their softening up. However, the political situation militates in favor of early ground operations. Every day that passes witnesses growing anti-coalition feeling in Jordan, Syria, Pakistan and the Maghreb. A rapid conclusion is preferable to temporization.

**ZE'EV SCHIFF**

Military editor of the Tel Aviv daily Haaretz.

Of the states backing Saddam Hussein — Sudan, Yemen, Mauritania and Jordan — Jordan is his most active supporter and King Hussein his leading spokesman. Jordan has been providing the Iraqi Army with a steady supply of information from its radar stations. The king's stand has made him popular among his subjects, but he is also a captive of militant public opinion controlled by Muslim fundamentalists. Nevertheless, neighboring states — including Israel — have an interest in Jordan's stability for fear that the alternatives may be far worse.

**ABDUL-KARIM ABOU-NASR**

Editor and political commentator with leading Arab publications since 1965, now working with a Kuwaiti daily, Al Qabas.

Even if he knows that the war is lost, Saddam Hussein is determined to deny his opponents what he sees as an easy, total victory — with very limited casualties — by agreeing to relinquish Kuwait. Instead, he hopes to make the ground battle an act of revenge for his the destruction that Iraq has suffered. These last-ditch tactics fit the rupture of diplomatic relations with the leading coalition countries. He hopes that other Arab and Muslim governments will follow his example, thus creating more long-term political problems for the allies.

## U.S. Civilian Is Slain Near Air Base In Turkey

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**ADANA, Turkey** — A gunman shot and killed an American employee at the Incirlik air base on Thursday in the first slaying of a U.S. civilian linked to the war in the Gulf.

An underground Turkish leftist organization, Dev Sol, claimed responsibility for the attack in calls to several newspapers and news agencies in Istanbul.

"We punished a CIA agent in Adana," the caller said, according to the Anatolian News Agency. "The bases cannot be used for the bloody games of U.S. imperialism."

The police said the victim, Bobbie Moezelle, 44, of Detroit, was shot four times in the heart and stomach as he left home in Adana, a city in southern Turkey near the Incirlik base. The base is being used by U.S. planes to launch bombing raids on Iraq.

"I was walking by when a tall man walked past me," said a witness quoted by Anatolian. "He fired four or five times at the American, who was just about to get into his car."

A military spokesman at Incirlik said Mr. Moezelle worked for Vannell, Brown & Root, which supplies contract workers to U.S. military installations in Turkey.

"He is not an employee of the American government," the spokesman said.

The police said the unidentified assailant fired at Mr. Moezelle as he was leaving for work, and then escaped on foot. Police detained a taxi driver said to have taken the gunman to Mr. Moezelle's house.

The killing was the latest in a series of attacks in Turkey. A dozen bombs aimed at Western targets in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Adana have slightly injured three people, all Turks, and damaged several buildings and cars.

Since the war in the Gulf began on Jan. 17, at least 72 revenge attacks have taken place around the world, in which four people have been killed.

The Adana killing was the first of an American. A Lebanese bank guard and two Persian guards have died in other attacks.

A bomb exploded outside a North Atlantic Treaty Organization air force building in the Turkish port of Izmir on Thursday night, shattering windows, Anatolian reported. The explosion, which rocked the neighborhood, sent panicked residents into the streets.

The police in Athens defused a powerful time bomb placed under a car owned by a French Embassy employee. A police officer said the bomb was similar to those used in the past by the Nov. 17 Marxist-Leninist guerrilla group, which has claimed responsibility for a series of rocket and bomb attacks against U.S., British and French targets in protest of allied action in the Gulf. A car assigned to an embassy employee was destroyed Wednesday by a bomb.

A bomb in Karachi, Pakistan, ripped through a movie theater shortly after a viewer spotted a suspicious bag and shouted a warning, emptying the theater.

(AP, Reuters, AFP)

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**WAR IN THE GULF:** For the postwar Middle East, 'the same spirit of multilateral commitment to reconstruction and development' as in Europe

## Baker Proposes a New Bank To Aid Reconstruction in Gulf

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d proposed Thursday that a Middle East bank for reconstruction and development be set up to help rebuild the region after the Gulf war.

The entire region, including Iraq, "warrants the same spirit of multilateral commitment to reconstruction and development" as developed nations have shown in other areas, including Europe and Latin America, Mr. Baker said in testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

He suggested in terms stronger than previously used that aid to Iraq would be more likely if President Saddam Hussein were no longer in power at the end of the war.

"There is no suggestion on our part that the rebuilding of Iraq could proceed, if the current leadership of Iraq remained in power, to the same extent and degree that it could otherwise," he said.

Mr. Baker also said that if Mr. Hussein remained in power "we might very well be adopting different measures" about economic im-

bargos and weapons controls than if the Iraqi leader were gone.

"Some decisions cannot be made until we know how the war will terminate," he said.

The secretary added a paragraph proposing the bank to a prepared statement otherwise identical to one that he read on Wednesday in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

In that statement Mr. Baker also promised help to rebuild Iraq after the war, saying the victors should not approach the defeated with a spirit of vengeance.

The new proposal appeared aimed at easing growing fears in the Arab world that massive air strikes against Iraq were destroying much of its industrial and social infrastructure.

Mr. Baker also referred to the need to repair the destruction inflicted on Kuwait since Iraq's invasion on Aug. 2. He did not give further details on the bank proposal.

Despite his comments about efforts to help postwar Iraq, Mr. Baker said the United States was not expanding its war aims to in-

clude the removal of Mr. Hussein from power.

"We are not at the point of enhancing our war aims and goals to talk about the removal of Saddam Hussein as a war aim or goal," he said.

Asked about the possibility of war crimes trials against Iraqi leaders, Mr. Baker said no member of the international coalition fighting Iraq had ruled that out but added that conducting such trials was not a formal U.S. aim.

Mr. Baker's testimony before the Senate panel coincided with the appearance of the president's two top military advisers before the House Armed Services Committee.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and General Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified before departing for Saudi Arabia, where they planned to discuss the next stage of the war with General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of allied forces, and other military leaders.

Mr. Cheney said that their aim was "to review the overall course of the war, to see what steps should come next and to report back to the president."

"Our hope is that we can wrap it up as soon as possible, to minimize the loss of life on all sides," he said. "The war can end tomorrow, if Saddam Hussein will get out of Kuwait."

Mr. Baker called for "a coalition of countries using both local and external resources to transform the outlook for the region — in expanding free trade and investment, in assisting development, and in promoting growth-oriented economic policies."

He noted that Iraq's people will be recovering from a disastrous war for the second time in 10 years.

"The time of reconstruction and recovery should not be the occasion for vengeful actions against a nation forced to war by a dictator's ambition," he said.

(AP, Reuters)



Sergeant Susan Kyle peering down the barrel of her rifle as she cleans it; troops in Saudi Arabia must clean their weapons regularly because of the climate.

## Tracking and Probing: The Quiet Ground War

By Douglas Frantz

Los Angeles Times Service

**NORTHERN SAUDI ARABIA** — They lie silent on the ground all night, scanning the hostile terrain for anyone or anything coming or going, moving or waiting.

"You're cold and miserable and you just have to wait," Lieutenant John Deedrick said.

The Marietta, Georgia, native was part of a U.S. Army patrol deployed on three knobs of rock-strewn desert, within sight of the Saudi-Kuwaiti border. The patrol was waiting to ambush an Iraqi patrol expected to come through the valley that lay before them.

The strategy was as old as war itself. "They're probing," said Major Ralph D'Elosua, the battalion operations officer. "We don't want them to have a lot of access to this area. We want to control this valley. Not them."

These troops from the 82d Airborne Division's 2d Brigade are part of a quiet ground war that has begun already, forays

across the border to test each other's strengths and probe for weaknesses.

Iraqi patrols of 20 or more troops want to know which allied positions are best fortified, where the Iraqis might send through an attack force with the least resistance. The job of the U.S. soldiers is to stop such intelligence gathering by stopping the patrols.

Some of the battles have been fierce, with artillery volleys and small-arms fire exchanged. Last week, an Iraqi patrol ambushed some Saudi troops not far from this post. Three Saudis were wounded and an Iraqi was killed before the intruders retreated across the border.

On Friday night, this same outfit from the 82d Airborne traded machine-gun fire with Iraqi troops who were less than 100 yards (90 meters) away. No injuries were reported on the U.S. side and there was no evidence that any Iraqis were wounded.

Mostly, though, these skirmishes and night-time traps are preparation for the possibility of full land combat. They are a time for U.S. troops to test themselves and absorb the ways of desert warfare.

"They know the terrain, we do not," Major D'Elosua said. "They know how to fight in the desert. We're just learning."

Just before dusk, the paratroopers had set off from their base camp to find a vantage point. Though their mission as scouts and lookouts is an old one, their equipment is the stuff of science fiction.

Night-vision goggles bathe the desert with an eerie green light and enemy troops and vehicles are spotted easily. Ground-surveillance radar detects the vibrations of troops and transport movements miles away. A voice-intercept system tracks signals from enemy communications equipment. Anti-tank missiles and grenade launchers are equipped with thermal-imaging sights that track anything emitting heat.

"We can pick up any enemy movement a long, long ways away," said Sergeant Michael Bamditini of St. Clair Shores, Michigan, a surveillance systems expert.

But sophisticated equipment makes a heavy load for the men heading out across the desert. Sergeant John Kinkadee of Redding, California, carried 80 pounds (36

kilograms) on his back as he headed out. "It depends on who sees who first," he said. "No use worrying about it. We'd all have ulcers by now."

At the ambush point, the patrol divides into three groups and sets up its equipment on the three knobs overlooking the border, less than three miles (five kilometers) away. The anti-tank weapons, heavy machine guns and grenade launchers are aimed toward the north and the unknown.

Through the long night, some soldiers try to sleep on the desert floor while sentries stand watch. It can be a long and uneventful time.

"I have butterflies," said Sergeant Larry Armour of Fayetteville, North Carolina. "To be honest with you, the only thing I like to do at night is sleep."

On this night, sleep was elusive.

The enemy was elusive, too. At dawn, without detecting any Iraqi movement, the paratroopers packed up and headed back to base camp. They would get some sleep and food before moving into the desert again.

## LAND: Mitterrand Says Allied Ground Offensive Will Begin This Month

(Continued from page 1)

intensive diplomatic activity will mark "the beginning of peace."

He said one or several international conferences would be convened under the aegis of the United Nations to deal with fundamental sources of tension in the region.

The main aims of these meetings would be to settle major border disputes and establish a security regime that would require disarmament and strict limits on weapons sales.

A proper resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, he said, will require the world community "to respond to Israel's legitimate security needs and the rightful aspirations of the Palestinian people."

Mr. Mitterrand did not discuss France's recent efforts to sound out Iran about peace mediation plans and its role in the postwar security

order. Advisers to the president said he had a two-hour telephone conversation with the Iranian president, Hashemi Rafsanjani, on Wednesday, but they declined to discuss its substance.

After nearly 15 years of close ties with Baghdad, with Paris supplying Iraq with some of its most sophisticated weaponry, the French government has embarked on a courtship of Iran in recent months in an

apparent effort to solidify a bilateral relationship for the postwar era in the Gulf that France fears may be dominated by Washington's alliance with Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

At a cabinet meeting this week, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said: "We must prepare ourselves for the idea that Iran will play a role in the final solution to the Gulf crisis. Its geographic position, its importance and its interests make Iran an essential player in the process that will assure security and equilibrium in the Middle East."

Tehran television reported that five Iraqi warplanes fleeing into Iran crashed and one landed safely during the previous 24 hours.

General Neal said three Iraqi helicopters were shot down in the air, including a French-built Alouette of the kind used to transport senior officers.

The U.S. command reported the loss of a navy FA-18 Hornet returning from a bombing raid to a carrier in the Gulf. The plane crashed into the sea and the pilot was listed as missing. General Neal said there was no indication the Hornet had suffered battle damage.

Officials said an army UH-1H Huey helicopter crashed from non-combat causes, killing one soldier and injuring four others.

Off Kuwait, the battleship Wisconsin, joining its sister ship the Missouri in the war, fired 11 rounds from its 16-inch guns. General Neal said. The shells triggered some secondary explosions, indicating a direct hit, he said.

## WAR: General Pledges New 'Intensity' in Air Strikes

(Continued from page 1)

al attacks had killed thousands of Republican Guard troops, the backbone of Iraqi forces in Kuwait.

Pilots returning from Kuwait and southern Iraq said the landscape was littered with destroyed vehicles, but that troops were still digging trenches in some areas.

Asked about reports from Baghdad that allied raids in Iraq were hitting residential areas and killing civilians, General Neal said it was impossible to rule out what he called "collateral damage," but he added that pilots go to great lengths to avoid it.

"Yes there will be collateral damage," he said. "We have tried our best to limit it."

"War is a dirty business," he added.

U.S. officials said the Iraqis have moved anti-aircraft guns into civilian areas in Baghdad and Kuwait.

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of allied forces, has said a commitment not to attack civilian areas would rule out attacks on schools or religious sites that the Iraqis had converted to military command posts. General Neal said this policy had not changed. "There are plenty of other targets," he added.

Reports from Baghdad said missiles destroyed a key bridge in the capital on Wednesday. The target of a raid early Thursday appeared to be another bridge across the Tigris River. Instead, a bomb hit nearby houses, reporters said.

Asked if the attack Wednesday on the bridge in Baghdad was meant to be a "calling card" for President Saddam Hussein, General Neal said there was a strategic reason for the bombardment. It was meant "to degrade his capability to supply his forces," he said.

The U.S. command announced Thursday that air force F-15C fighters had shot down two Iraqi Su-22 jets and probably a third as they tried to flee to Iran.

General Neal also confirmed that F-15 pilots had shot down four Iraqi jets trying to flee to Iran on Wednesday. Earlier reports listed two of the hits as "possible." Two American F-15 pilots were credited with double kills in the downing of the two Su-22s and two MiG-21 jets.

Those planes, along with the two Su-22s, brought to 35 the number of Iraqi aircraft downed in aerial combat. No allied warplanes have been lost in the engagements, but 21 coalition aircraft have been reported lost to ground fire.

General Neal said 34 Iraqi aircraft have managed in the past few days to reach safety in Iran, bringing the total to 134, including 109 fighters and bombers. Iran, which is neutral in the conflict, has said the planes will be confiscated until the end of the war.

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## Quayle Says U.S. Enjoys Respect

LOS ANGELES — Vice President Dan Quayle said Thursday that the United States enjoys more respect in the Middle East than ever before.

"Never have we been invited into a country like we were into Saudi Arabia," he said. "You don't invite someone into your country if you don't respect them."

"I would say respect for the United States in the Middle East is greater than ever before," he said at a press conference with Margaret Thatcher, who was on a visit to the United States.

Asked about diplomatic efforts to end the war, Mr. Quayle said: "The only diplomatic effort that will be fruitful is one that would get Iraq out of Kuwait without any conditions."

Mr. Quayle said General Mous-

## German Official Chides Critics of Gulf War Role

Reuter

BONN — Foreigners criticizing Bonn's low-profile Gulf policy have been emotional and irrational, President Richard von Weizsäcker said in an interview published Thursday.

In an interview in the weekly newspaper Die Zeit, he said foreigners who last year feared a dominant reunited Germany were now complaining that Bonn was not taking part in the Gulf war. "This is a sign of highly emotional and contradictory feelings," he said.

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## French Commander Replaced After Illness

Reuter

PARIS — Brigadier General Jean-Charles Mouscardes, the commander of French ground forces in Saudi Arabia, is ill and will be replaced, Defense Minister Pierre Joxe said Thursday.

Mr. Joxe said General Mous-

cardes, 56, would return to France on Friday. He will be replaced by Brigadier General Bernard Janvier, 52. Mr. Joxe declined to say what illness was suffering from but staff officers said the illness was serious.

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# WAR IN THE GULF: In the United States, a struggle for allegiance on the home front

## Protest Is Quelled In Egypt Police Outnumber Demonstrators

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
CAIRO — Riot policemen on Thursday broke up the first march in Egypt against the Gulf war, dispersing opposition leaders and about 50 of their supporters.

Several demonstrators were slightly injured and at least one was arrested.

The police, who far outnumbered the demonstrators, used force when protesters chanting "Down, down America" tried to march from the headquarters of the opposition Socialist Labor Party to the presidential palace.

Opposition leaders later went by car to the palace of President Hosni Mubarak and delivered a letter demanding an immediate cease-fire in the war, the withdrawal of Egyptian troops and a political solution to the crisis.

A group of women, dressed in traditional long black robes, staged a spontaneous counterdemonstration. They chanted, "Down, down Saddam Hussein! We sacrifice our blood and soul for Mubarak."

There are 35,000 Egyptian troops in the U.S.-led multinational force in the Gulf, but they have not yet taken part in the fighting.

Mr. Mubarak enjoys widespread public support for his Gulf policy. Opposition has largely been confined to leftist intellectuals and some Muslim fundamentalists.

Pro-Iraqi demonstrations also continued Thursday in Jordan. Riot policemen fired tear gas to disperse hundreds of protesters who stoned food trucks bound for Saudi Arabia for a second day.

About 500 policemen, backed by 27 armored personnel carriers, two tanks and 15 jeeps mounted with machine guns broke up a similar protest on Wednesday in Ramtha, near the Syrian border.

Anti-American demonstrators also marched Thursday in the Philippines, where thousands of Muslims chanting "Death to Bush" burned President George Bush in effigy.

The demonstrators, who witnesses said numbered more than 5,000, dragged the U.S. and Israeli flags through the streets of the Muslim city of Marawi before setting them on fire with the effigy of Mr. Bush.

The largest U.S. military installations overseas are in the Philippines. (Reuters, AFP)



Demonstrators against U.S. involvement in the war outside a New York hotel where President Bush was delivering a speech.

## U.S. War Rallies: Many Are in Support

By Peter Applebome  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — As happened during the Vietnam War, an overseas conflict is bringing with it a struggle for the allegiance of Americans at home.

This time, however, to a degree that has probably seldom been matched in the nation's history, many of those taking to the streets in demonstrations and rallies are showing support for the Gulf war effort rather than opposition.

The result is perhaps the most vivid confirmation of public relations and military action in the nation's history.

It reflects both the extraordinary nature of a televised war watched simultaneously by Saddam Hussein and millions of Americans and the inescapable reminders of the way protesters in the Vietnam era captured the public debate and changed the course of the war.

To some extent, the surge of patriotic demonstrations is reminiscent of flag-waving parades sending off troops to the Civil War or World War I and II. But to many observers, the contrasts with the current shows of patriotism are more telling than the similarities.

To them, the differences reflect the post-Vietnam recognition by both ordinary citizens and policymakers that the public relations war at home can be as influential as the battlefield overseas.

"This pattern is quite different from sending off the troops in 1917 or 1941," said Gerald Linderman, a history professor at the University of Michigan. "In the past, the shows of support were demonstrated solely at the troops. Now they're equally directed at other elements within our society."

"Sending off the troops in the past was an expression of a large measure of social unity. Today, the pattern is one exemplified of social divisions."

By far the largest demonstrations since the war began were the anti-war rallies in Washington and on the West Coast on Jan. 19 and 26. But from a trickle of small local demonstrations in places like Atlanta and Norfolk, Virginia, during the first days of the war, the nation has seen dozens of demonstrations supporting the troops in towns around the country.

They have been far more extensive than the Vietnam-era demonstrations in support of U.S. policy, such as ones mounted by construction workers in New York.

Last weekend, there were rallies supporting the war effort in cities such as Rochester, New York, Dallas, Virginia Beach and Washington. A conservative group is planning demonstrations across the country next weekend, and a Vietnam veterans group is planning a pro-troops demonstration in Washington on Feb. 16.

"This can't be like Vietnam. We can't give silent support," said Howard Ungar, a 47-year-old estimator for a painting company in Pissburg, California, who has organized several rallies in support of the troops and now heads a group called the Coalition for Troops Support. "We need to counteract the messages the protesters are putting out, and the longer the war goes on, the more important our support is."

Most of the rallies in support of U.S. policy in the Gulf have been locally organized grassroots efforts led by local officials, veterans groups or interested residents.

But the show of support for the war also stems from concerted organization by backers of U.S. policy and from effective lobbying of the public by the administration to a degree not seen during Vietnam.

One prominent group supporting the war effort has been the Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf, a coalition of both liberals and conservatives.

But much of the organized support comes from conservative groups or those active in military concerns.

The American Security Council, a policy research organization established 35 years ago, published a newspaper advertisement in which former Presidents Ronald Reagan, Gerald R. Ford and Richard Nixon and others supported President George Bush's policy.

Members of the current anti-war movement say the surge of sentiment in favor of the war largely reflects the early, relatively painless days of the war and a traditional rally-round-the-flag effort in the war's initial days.

## In U.S., Record Year for Hate

Groups Report Rise in Crimes Against Arabs and Jews

By David Johnston  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Crimes of hate against Arabs and Jews in the United States rose to record levels in 1990, according to separate reports by Arab-American and Jewish organizations.

Arab-American leaders said animosity toward Arabs in the United States had been aggravated by the tensions in the Gulf.

Jewish leaders cited a mixture of factors, including a worsening economy, anti-Israel attitudes on the part of some Americans and a loosening of social restraints on expressions of hatred, exemplified by the verbal assaults of the comedian Andrew Dice Clay and the graphically violent lyrics of musical groups like 2 Live Crew.

The reports catalogued thousands of acts against Arabs and Jews, from the murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane in New York in November to the gunshots fired into the car of a Palestinian family in Kansas City in September.

The groups issuing the reports were the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the largest Arab-American rights organization in the United States; and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a rights organization established to combat anti-Semitism.

The American-Arab group said that it had logged fewer than five anti-Arab incidents prior to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2 but more than 40 complaints by the end of the year. The group also said it logged nearly 60 incidents so far in 1991, including threatening phone calls, assaults and an arson fire at a restaurant in Michigan owned by an Arab-American.

The Gulf crisis "produced a sharp level of public hostility toward Arabs and Arab-Americans," the report said.

Albert Mokhiber, president of the group, said no clear patterns of harassment had emerged to explain which Arab-Americans were likely to be victimized.

"It is as though Arabs are put into one bag and shaken up and one is picked out to be targeted," he said.

The FBI has acknowledged that it is investigating about 30 federal civil rights complaints involving Arab-Americans filed since last August.

The Anti-Defamation League said that its nationwide survey of incidents against Jews rose for the fourth straight year, to 1,685. The total represented an 18 percent increase over 1989.

The report noted a "particularly

troubling" increase of bias-related incidents on college campuses.

"Anti-Semitic and racist attacks are particularly troubling when they occur in a university environment devoted to respect for diverse ideas, people and cultures," said Abraham H. Foxman, the league's national director.

The audit, conducted annually since 1979, said there were 927 incidents of anti-Jewish vandalism and 738 acts of harassment, threats or assaults against Jews or Jewish institutions.

On college campuses, the league reported a total of 95 incidents at 56 institutions in 1990 compared with 69 incidents at 54 campuses in 1989. The acts were directed against Jewish students and faculty members as well as Jewish fraternities and sororities.

The report also noted a decrease in anti-Semitic attacks attributed to neo-Nazi skinheads, which declined by 27 percent. The report said that aggressive law-enforcement efforts were responsible for discouraging such incidents.

In explaining the reason for the record level of anti-Semitic acts, the report cited "a coarsening of public expression and popular culture" and said this had combined with a deteriorating economy, which has traditionally heightened social frictions.

## Pan Am to Accept Iraqis Who Have U.S. Residence

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Pan American World Airways has modified its ban against allowing Iraqi nationals on its flights by allowing those with permanent resident status in the United States to fly, according to a lawyer representing an Iraqi political refugee who had sued the airline.

But the lawyer, Eric Lieberman, said the airline would continue to bar Iraqi nationals who had United States visas but lacked permanent resident status.

Pan Am declined comment on the policy change. Jeff Kriender, a spokesman for the airline, said that "current policy is to accept Iraqis carrying United States passports or having resident alien status."

The suit was brought by Salan H. Salman, a New York architect who was barred from a Pan Am flight to Czechoslovakia. Mr. Salman's father was executed when President Saddam Hussein took power in Iraq.

### Gulf Notes

■ Romania will send a mobile field hospital with a staff of 360 to the Gulf war zone as well as 180 medics trained in combating the effects of chemical warfare. The two teams were organized at the request of Britain and Saudi Arabia and will provide medical assistance both to allied troops and Iraqi prisoners of war. Several other East European countries have already contributed medical units or troops to the allied war effort in the Gulf. (Reuters)

■ The Moroccan Army handed 60 tons of medicines for Iraq to the International Committee at the Red Cross at the Sale military air base near Rabat on Thursday, officials said. A token force of 1,300 Moroccan troops was sent to Saudi Arabia after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2. They are defending the country's largest oil refinery at Assafiyah. (Reuters)

■ The Vatican urged Catholics on Thursday to contribute generously to charities helping victims of the Gulf war. Last month Pope John Paul II ordered Caritas, the Vatican department that coordinates Catholic charitable works, to set up a commission to cooperate with international organizations helping victims of the war. (Reuters)

■ Friday's forecast for Iraq is for windy and chilly weather, according to Accu-Weather, a private forecaster in State College, Pennsylvania. It said a storm moving into Iran would bring showers to southeastern Saudi Arabia and much of southern Iran. Behind this storm, northern Iraq and central Saudi Arabia will be windy and cooler with clouds and sun. Stray showers are possible in north-central Saudi Arabia. (Reuters)

■ Iraqi prisoners will get gas masks to protect them from any chemical attacks by their own side, U.S. military officials said Thursday. In many areas of the front, there are only enough masks for U.S. and allied soldiers. But officials said U.S. forces were examining how many more they may need. Many front-line Iraqi troops are believed to carry gas masks and would be allowed to keep them if taken prisoner. But others, particularly reservists, were poorly equipped and protective gear will be found for them. (Reuters)

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Making U.S. Banks Safe

Making banks safe. That is what the U.S. Treasury Department's proposed overhaul of the banking system would help accomplish if Congress goes along. Despite some imperfections, the plan incorporates the ingredients needed to propel American banking soundly into the 21st century.

Congress ordered the review of the banking system in the aftermath of the \$300 billion bailout of savings and loan institutions. The task was to restructure the industry so that banks could prosper without risking another bailout.

The Treasury report meets that challenge intelligently with two fundamental recommendations. First, it proposes allowing diversified investments. Banks would be allowed to open branches across the country and offer their customers insurance, mutual funds and securities underwriting. And banks could be bought by commercial and industrial concerns, providing a desperately needed infusion of capital. In each case, the plan builds in safeguards against misuse of federally insured deposits.

The purpose of such diversification is not to promote high-risk ventures but to dilute the risk of bad investments. Savings and loan institutions went bankrupt because, in the main, they were confined to high-risk real estate loans in states where they were based. When the real estate market in Texas collapsed, so did the S&L's there. If they had included branch offices in Florida and Oregon, they would not have been as vulnerable.

Second, Treasury calls for mandatory intervention. The plan would require regulators to intervene once bank reserves begin to slip. Currently they are sometimes permitted to stop struggling banks from paying out dividends or making new loans.

Under the Treasury plan, such intervention would become mandatory.

The far-reaching proposals are already exciting concern from special interests. Small bankers fear interstate banking, insurance agents and securities underwriters fear added competition. But these fears are exaggerated, and Congress would make a grave error were it to stifle competition to protect local fief.

The proposal needs improvement. It would unwisely limit individuals to two federally insured accounts — each for \$100,000 — at any one bank. Savvy individuals would spread out their money over many banks. But the plan fails to protect unsophisticated pensioners and, in the case of Freedom Bank in Harlem, charities and corporations. Even worse, any rule that makes deposits vulnerable to bank collapse could tip waves of panic withdrawals from sound banks that are the object of fear-mongering rumors.

Equally misguided is the report's proposal to outlaw brokered deposits, which are federally insured accounts placed by brokerage houses on behalf of their customers. It is a myth that bidding for brokered deposits drove savings and loans into bankruptcy, according to George Benston of Emory University, a banking expert.

The chief error of the Treasury report is not that it goes too far, as some critics allege, but that it does not go far enough. Had the plan called for even higher capital requirements, in combination with mandatory regulatory response, it could have lifted all caps on federally insured deposits without fear.

But that is quibbling. Diversified investments and mandatory intervention are the main ticket to safe banks. The Treasury plan gets that exactly right.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

## The Gall of the Violators

No finer compliment has been paid Human Rights Watch than for its application for consultative status at the United Nations to be rejected. It was blocked by a minority of a 19-member committee that has to decide unanimously which private groups should be allowed to address UN committees and circulate staff papers.

America's largest, most wide-ranging human rights organization was found wanting by six flagrant rights abusers: Cuba, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Algeria and Sudan.

Human Rights Watch has published devastating reports on violations of rudimentary norms in each of these countries except Libya, which first agreed and then refused to admit a monitoring team.

Cuba, which led the fight, castigated the organization for its "irreverent" criticism

of China's massacre of student dissidents. For gall, first prize goes to Iraq, where dissenters are gassed or disappear in tanks of acid. Iraq's spokesman alleged that some of the group's officers, because they are Jews, were hostile to certain Arab states.

The charge of bigotry comes with peculiar infrequency from a regime that kills Jews because they are Jews and Kurds because they are Kurds. And in any case, Watch monitors have prepared hard-hitting reports on Iraq's violation of Palestinian rights in occupied territories. Indeed, the organization's reputation for fairness helps explain the support for its application from such longtime targets of its criticism as the Soviet Union and Chile. But with enemies like the Gang of Six, who needs friends?

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Fairness and the Budget

The U.S. budget is increasingly a transfer between generations. Payments to the elderly or on their behalf now constitute more than a fourth of total spending and nearly half of spending other than for interest and defense. The share is rising, yet scarcely a word was said about this when the budget was presented; when discussed at all, the issue was dismissed in code.

Director Richard Darman complained in his introduction to the budget that it was being "taken over by so-called 'mandatory' or 'entitlement' programs" not subject to the annual appropriations process. These have grown, he wrote, from 28 percent of spending in the Kennedy administration to 52 percent today, while "within the mandatory total, funding for the poor" has increased far more than for the rest. To reduce cost — and to try to throw the Democrats on the defensive on the fairness issue — the administration proposed reforms.

The reforms are mostly good ideas that ought to be adopted, but not misunderstood. Their importance is not substantive or fiscal, but illustrative and political. The proposals in themselves do not seriously address either the budget growth or the budget fairness problems in whose names they were brought up.

The growth issue is partly demographic, partly a matter of social choice. Three-fifths of all the mandatory spending Mr. Darman lamented is aid to the elderly, mainly through Social Security and Medicare. These two programs dominate the budget; they have been the great (though not the only) engines of growth in the last 30 years. Medicare, which in not too many years could pass even Social Security as the costliest domestic program, did not even exist when John Kennedy was president.

The administration, we think to its credit, does try (again) to stanch the cost of Medicare in the budget. And some further spending cuts the president proposes an increase in the premiums of upper-income beneficiaries. A progressive premium is a good idea, and Congress, you recall, voted for one in catastrophic health insurance, only to turn around and flee. This one would not raise much money as proposed but could establish an important principle. Question: How hard will the president press?

Most of the other fairness steps the president suggested — in farm supports, school lunches, benefits for veterans' widows — are peripheral so far as the great problem of entitlements is concerned. Yes, the programs could stand to be dressed up, but no, they are not the reason for a bursting budget. And the college student aid program also on his list is already one of the most progressive that the government maintains (though it too can be improved).

What should the administration do if it wants to cut the cost and increase the fairness of benefits? First, it (and Congress) should address Social Security; a larger share of benefits should be subject to the income tax. Second, it should address tax benefits as well as those on the spending side. If Medicare benefits should be phased down with rising income, as the progressive premium would help to do, why not also the housing subsidy that goes to higher income families through the mortgage interest deduction? A little of this, but only a little, was done in last year's tax bill.

The president and budget director have opened up an interesting issue. If they or anyone else is serious about it, there is a lot to do.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

## Other Comment

### Yes, Saddam Is a Hitler

The talk of Saddam Hussein as a successor to Hitler is no journalistic metaphor, no propagandistic exaggeration, but the essence of reality.

We underestimate the danger the Iraqi leader represents when we see in him a traditional despot or a modern dictator. Unlike figures like Franco, Marcos, Pinochet and a half-hundred others of their ilk in power all over the world today, Saddam Hussein was not content to oppress his people, to dominate and exploit them. Autocrats like these are part of the repertoire of history; one is tempted to say part of the normal state of the world of nations as we know it. There is nothing mysterious about

these monsters; their actions are guided by the instinct for self-preservation. That in turn makes them predictable.

Hitler did not fit into this mold. In this sense Saddam is his genuine successor. He struggles not against one foreign or domestic adversary or another; his enemy is the world. The question of who will be exterminated first, Iraqis or Kurds, Saudis or Palestinians, Kuwaitis or Israelis, depends only on which opportunity arises first. Even his own people are not exempt. The death wish is his motive, his method of rule is destruction. He himself hopes only for the privilege of being the last to die.

— Hans Magnus Enzensberger, a leading German intellectual, writing in *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg).

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## OPINION

## We Held the Pieces To the Iraqi Puzzle

By Flora Lewis

DAVOS, Switzerland — As war in the Gulf proceeds, the Western intelligence failure grows ever more astonishing. It was widely known that Iraq was scrambling for every kind of advanced weaponry and going deeply into debt to buy it. But there were a lot of little things, not really secret but not taken into account, that could have illuminated Saddam Hussein's intentions in building such an arsenal over many years.

Take for example the underground air bases, the huge network of bunkers for equipment as well as command, the elaborate alternative communications systems, the inflatable decoy planes and tanks. All this had been planned and acquired over many years, but it had no relevance in the Iran-Iraq war. Iraq had air supremacy throughout, and the orders

continued unabated after the war. Most of it was designed and constructed by Western firms — British, French, Italian, German and others. Some, particularly in Germany, was sold in flagrant violation of poorly enforced national export rules. But there was nothing illegal about providing balloons that looked like planes and tanks, although it ought to have aroused suspicions.

Somebody knew about each of these deals, but the people who should have been assembling the hard clues that would indicate Baghdad's plans were not paying attention. On the contrary, competition among countries promoting export markets worked to prevent overall assessment of what was coming.

Jacques Chirac, the former French prime minister, has said he initiated the policy of huge weapons and weapons-related sales to Iraq in 1975 "because otherwise British and the Germans would have taken the market." No successful French government considered changing the policy, for the same reason, until last spring when deliveries were stopped only because Iraq was no longer paying.

There is no international body to keep track of even legal transactions that an aggressive-minded country might be piling up, which, together, suggest a quite different explanation from what any single enterprise might suspect. There is a little concern about sheer quantity of conventional weapons from many sources, itself a signal, in addition to attempts to build mass destruction capacity — atomic, biological, chemical.

With hindsight, it is now obvious that Saddam was preparing an assault for many years. Alongside his contemptuous judgment of Western policies, that preparation gave him confidence and obduracy. The diplomatic frenzy to find a prewar compromise to the crisis was doomed from the start. That would have been more visible if we had known before what we know now about Iraq's long and careful advance to readiness.

There are important lessons to be drawn. One is the need for coordinated intelligence about countries clearly arming themselves well beyond any defensive justification. It will not be easy but it is essential. There is talk about a greatly expanded CoCom, the allied organization that worked to keep militarily useful advanced technology from the Soviets. But this, some object, could mean the North imposing "technological apartheid" on the South. Judgments would have to be made case by case.

A second postwar task, politically crucial, will be to make clear the proof that is becoming available of Saddam's responsibility for the death and destruction. The Iraqi people will know what he cost them. They have been victimized for many years. George Vassiliou, the president of Cyprus, who spent time in Baghdad as a businessman, put it vividly: "I have been in police states, but I never saw such terror. Those people weren't only afraid to talk to each other, they were afraid to talk to themselves."

Particularly in the early days of the war, many Arabs felt pride in Saddam because, as one Syrian businessman said: "All the others only talked. Here's one who dared something." They will need reminding that Saddam's was just another pipe dream — bloody, high-tech and calculated, but no more helpful to Arab dignity and yearning for decent, successful societies than other delusions about new order.

President Turgut Ozal of Turkey told the World Economic Forum here that with East-West issues ebbing, "extremists are looking for new areas of confrontation," and that they are likely to choose Islam versus the West. It must be realized that not everybody wants to solve problems.

So the wartime coalition, and those who have stood aside, must join to ensure that the world knows how the war came about, recognizing the mutual interest of Islam, the West and others in rejecting violence and myth as pseudo-solutions. They bring disaster.

New York Times Syndication Sales.

## Pushing On Into Iraq: A Most Dangerous Temptation

By Walid Khalidi

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — It is virtually certain now that allied ground forces will be called on to drive Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

The only question is when, which is what Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and General Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are going to Saudi Arabia to figure out. Assuming a ground campaign succeeds, what happens next? Assuming also that Saddam Hussein remains in power, should the coalition hold talks with him? Or should it pursue his forces into Iraq in hopes of forcing his unconditional surrender?

The prudent course is to talk. We are now in the fourth week of the allied air offensive. More than 50,000 sorties have been flown. Some 85,000 tons of high explosives is a conservative estimate of the damage deposited on Iraq and Kuwait.

This is the TNT equivalent of just under five Hiroshimas.

Yet Saddam Hussein's forces are still in Kuwait and his message to the coalition continues to be "come and get me." And with every passing day of the air offensive, Saddam's bloody but unbowed head is hastening his metamorphosis in Arab, Muslim and

Third World consciousness into the champion-martyr-underdog. Already, in Morocco, formally a member of the alliance coalition — we have seen enormous street demonstrations in support of Iraq.

Even if Saddam Hussein declines talks after being driven from Kuwait and, indeed, if he dares the allies to "come and get me in Iraq," his entreaties should be resisted.

Not that this would be easy. He could launch attacks across the Kuwait border, designed expressly to provoke the coalition forces into pursuit. He would do so not merely out of bloody-mindedness but as a deliberate strategy to prolong the war — a strategy based upon the respectable concept of resilient retreat that has been practiced in Mesopotamia and elsewhere for millennia.

Already Saddam, given his steadfastness despite the horrendous punishment meted out by his country, stands not too far away from the threshold of a political-psychological victory. To many Arabs, Nasser's stand against the European powers in 1956 already pales in comparison.

A prolonged war in central Iraq would consecrate Saddam's mythic heroic stature and turn his military defeat into certain political victory, even if it led to his overthrow or death.

To be sure, resisting the temptation to pursue him into Iraq and finish him off will be more difficult, especially if the casualties incurred in liberating Kuwait are high or if Saddam resorts to chemical weapons.

Nevertheless, to resist the temptation is not a favor to Saddam as much as to the United States and particularly to its Arab coalition partners.

There are several reasons for this. First, the chances are that none of the coalition partners would follow the United States into Iraq. Even if the British did, it would be hard to present this narrower coalition force as universally representative.

Second, an invasion of Iraq would open a Pandora's box. Iraq is larger than Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and the occupied territories combined. The route to Baghdad from Kuwait lies across extensive marshy territory, the central holy Shiite towns and the Euphrates and the Tigris.

## De Klerk Makes a Big Leap, but Hurdles Remain

By Desmond M. Tutu

CAPE TOWN — President Frederik de Klerk's recent address to the South African Parliament has moved the struggle against apartheid into a new phase.

For many people outside South Africa, the most startling and obvious manifestation of apartheid has been the formal entrenchment of racial segregation in the country's laws: features such as separate living areas and schools reserved for children of one race only.

With one major exception, Mr. de Klerk's speech on Feb. 1 has brought within sight the end of legally enforced racism in major areas of social and public life. The exception is in the area of education: The overwhelming majority of schools will remain segregated by law, and Mr. de Klerk still refuses to place all schooling in South Africa under a single integrated education ministry.

Nonetheless, I have commended Mr. de Klerk for his reforms. But at its core, apartheid is not simply the separation of facilities and schools. It is the denial of political power to people on the basis of their race. This will be ended only when black South Africans have the vote.

Much of the international community fails to realize the importance of this distinction. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the response of Western governments to Mr. de Klerk's proposed changes to the Population Registration Act.

This is the law that requires every South African to be classified by race. It is a vicious law that has involved the authorities in deciding what race people are on the basis of the shapes of their noses or the curliness of their hair. It has split families and led to suicides. It is one of the pillars of apartheid and its repeal is a fundamental requirement for the lifting of sanctions.

Until Feb. 1, the South African government's position was that the law could not go until a new constitution had been negotiated. If said the current constitution was racially based, the law classified everyone according to race, and summary repeal would render the present constitution and

government inoperable. Opening Parliament, Mr. de Klerk unexpectedly announced a change. He said investigation had shown it was possible to "repeal" the act, "provided that this is accompanied by the adoption of transitional measures toward the acceptance of a new constitution."

A key reason for our demand for the repeal of the Population Registration Act is that it enables the exercise of political power to be limited on the basis of race. Yet the government clearly intends

### The government wants to be both player and referee.

to replace the law with measures having largely the same effect in that crucial area: Fixing the conclusion of negotiations on a new constitution, government will be based on the current constitution. This implies that white South Africans will have the right to veto the terms of a new constitution. And that is unacceptable.

If we are to have a constitution that commands the loyalty and acceptance of the vast majority of South Africans, it must be drawn up by a representative body. That is why many of us are calling for the negotiation of a new constitution by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, on a common voters' roll.

The constitution of Namibia was drawn up quickly and with overwhelming consensus in this way. Elections to such a body would also help to eliminate political violence in South Africa. One cause of the current fighting is a struggle for turf by political organizations whose claims of support have never been tested by a democratic vote.

We are angered by the uncritical way in which Western governments have sided with the South African government over the Population Registration Act: A condition of the lifting of sanctions has been met, it is said. We have heard no expressions of caution, no calls for elaboration of the nature of the "transitional measures."

Mr. de Klerk's address did not deal with serious questions raised by the government's use of "police and army death squads and the existence of a 'third force' stocking violence in black communities. He also failed to address another requirement for the lifting of U.S. sanctions: the freeing of all political prisoners.

I am as eager as anyone to have sanctions lifted. Apartheid has created tremendous problems in housing, health, education and many other areas, and we need a strong, vibrant economy and a high growth rate to help us eliminate its effects. The intended abolition of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act, which limit land ownership and occupation on the basis of race, will mean very little unless black South Africans can afford to buy land. But before I can call for sanctions to be lifted:

- Schools have to be opened to all races without qualification, under one education ministry.
- All political prisoners must be freed, and exiles allowed home under a general amnesty.
- The Population Registration Act has to be abolished without condition.
- A mechanism needs to be established for negotiating a new constitution that is representative of the people of South Africa and that does not allow groups defined by race or ethnicity to veto decisions that are democratically reached.

The government wants to be both a player in constitutional negotiations and a referee with final power to make decisions. Mr. de Klerk is a bold and courageous reformer, but his government needs to be told that the only way to negotiate a democratic constitution is by democratic means.

The writer is the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town and the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate. He contributed this view to the *Los Angeles Times*.

## Exports, 'Solid and Strong,' Can Pull America Out of Recession

By C. Fred Bergsten

WASHINGTON — "There are reasons to be optimistic about our economy," President George Bush said in his State of the Union Message, pointing to single-digit inflation, low business inventories, and U.S. exports. "Exports," he noted, "are running solid and strong."

Indeed, export-led growth offers a way out of the recession. There is no world recession. Most of Asia and Continental Europe continues to expand, providing growing markets. The dollar's exchange rate is low enough to make U.S. industry price-competitive in most markets.

We have already glimpsed the potential benefits from trade improvement. It provided almost half of all U.S. growth for 1990. A concentrated effort by American industry to exploit present trade opportunities, supported by new government initiatives, could brighten the economic outlook considerably.

The present turnaround has two unusual characteristics. One is bad news: the unavailability of the usual policy instruments to restart the economy. The fiscal deficit will rise further for a year or two as lower tax payments and higher welfare spending result from the economic turnaround, but new fiscal stimulus is out of the question in light of the enormous budget deficit.

Neither should we expect the Federal Reserve to rescue the economy with easy money, despite Friday's drop in interest rates. The Fed must worry not only about underlying inflation but about the dollar.

To cover the large external deficit, the United States must borrow about \$10 billion monthly in new money

from the rest of the world — and avoid any net withdrawals from the \$1.5 trillion stock of liquid foreign assets already in America. Yet U.S. interest rates have already dropped below those in every key money center abroad, and a further sharp reduction could produce a dollar-free fall.

Markets would then push interest rates up sharply to attract the essential capital inflow as in 1978 and 1987 — worsening the recession and leaving the U.S. financial system more fragile.

The other unique characteristic of the present situation, however, is fortuitously good news: that the world business cycle is unsynchronized for the first time since the 1960s.

As the U.S. economy began to flag at the end of the 1980s, the German and Japanese economies accelerated. Growth in Asia, Continental Europe and perhaps the oil-exporting countries will continue to boost trade prospects. The major countries in Asia and Europe, unlike the United States, are still in a position to stimulate via both fiscal and monetary policy if necessary (as Germany is doing in connection with unification).

So the market is there — if Americans have the wit to sell to it. And despite all the gloom about U.S. competitiveness, the evidence is that they do. The external deficit in real GNP terms has already declined by 80 percent, or almost \$120 billion, from its peak in 1986. Exports expanded at a rate of more than 14 percent during 1987-89, while imports grew only half as fast. The export surge slowed in 1990 but was still twice as fast as the rise in imports.

Moreover, the export boom of the past four years has ranged across virtually the entire spectrum of manufacturing industries, suggesting a recovery of American competitiveness.

A sustained trade boom could contribute about \$50 billion annually in real economic growth for America for the next three years. This would boost total output by more than a full percentage point per year.

If the domestic economy clearly can provide such export expansion, can the world economy accept such improvement in the U.S. trade balance?

Recent history suggests it can. From 1987 to 1990, America's share of world manufactured exports rose by about 0.6 percentage points annually, and its share of world imports of manufactures dropped by about 1 percentage point annually. The other industrial countries not only survived but most experienced a pickup in their economies as they shifted to domestic-led expansion. Three more years of similar recovery of market share would leave America's share of world markets for manufactured exports below the 1980-81 level.

The key is whether firms producing in the United States, including those headquartered abroad, will be sufficiently agile to achieve such a shift, even with the incentive of a sluggish home market and a cheap dollar.

The government can help in several ways. First, it must ensure that the dollar does not rebound in the short run and prematurely undermine American price competitiveness.

Second, the United States must make a clear commitment to avoid a

repeat of the 1981-85 neglect of the dollar that so damaged U.S. exports. At home, the U.S. government should sharply increase the size and scope of the Export-Import Bank and its other export-promotion programs.

The administration and Congress should jointly develop legislation to eliminate excessive national-security and foreign-policy controls on exports.

Finally, export-led growth should become the focus of U.S. trade policy. The United States needs in-

creased market access in the sectors where it is most competitive. It is thus essential to conclude a successful Uruguay Round of international trade negotiations.

The writer, a member of the new Competitiveness Policy Council appointed by the president and Congress, is director of the Institute for International Economics. This article was adapted by *The Washington Post* from *International Economic Insights*.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1891: Royalist Rebellion

PARIS — Much amusement has been caused at Tours by the refusal of a well-known inhabitant to pay her taxes. Mlle. Deshayes, of some sixty years of age, has strong Royalist opinions. She considered it a sin and a shame to have to pay towards a regime she detested. And being an example of that rare avers a logical woman, put her theory into practice by refusing to pay. A bailiff appeared with a writ only to find that Mlle. Deshayes had made preparations to stand a regular siege, having laid in a stock of provisions and barricaded doors and windows. It took a whole posse of police to force an entrance and to protect the bailiff.

### 1916: A Tsarist Heroine

PETROGRAD — The Russian community refers to a heroic Russian girl, who is not only fighting in the Tsar's army as a corporal, but has just carried out single-handed a mis-

sion of the greatest danger. The corporal eagerly volunteered to make a reconnaissance in the fire-swept zone between the opposing armies. With the greatest courage she crawled out into the open, and had actually reached the German barbed wire entanglements when a bullet shattered her leg. Undaunted by the pain she completed her reconnaissance.

### 1941: British in Bengali

CAIRO — An Italian army was falling back last night (Feb. 7) in costly disorder from Bengasi, and British forces stormed through and beyond that military and naval center to carry their offensive into central Libya. Bengasi, whose extensively improved harbor will accommodate big British cruisers and provide a base to support the lengthening British lines, fell two days ago during a sandstorm. Its Italian defenders were declared no longer to constitute an effective force. — From the *New York Edition of the New York Herald Tribune*.

backbook is  
an enduring



**By William Safire**

As a people, the British understand how vital it is to stop an incipient Hitler before he becomes unstoppable. British pilots, when interviewed, eloquently show they understand what side they're on. They are not the kind of people who go off-on, reluctant, laced-with-conditions support of the French. Apprehension offered right up to the dead-

crunch. Special relationships between cultures and nations are forged in war, because blood is thicker than oil and more indebted than money. This generation of Americans in the desert will remember who are the fainthearted and halfhearted, who are the purely self-interested, and who are the friends.

*The New York Times.*



## Aggression in Lithuania

**Poor Lithuania:** In its case, the bad guy — unlike that of Grenada, Panama and even Iraq — is too big and strong to tackle without unacceptable risks. Moreover, this particular victim does not possess any valuable oil fields. Even more significantly, Washington clearly feels nothing must be done to endanger the fragile Soviet-American partnership in ousting Saddam Hussein.

This sort of scenario is similar to that of 1956, when another Middle East dispute gave the green light for the Khrushch's renewed repression of Hungary — entailing, for that abused country, decades more of hated Soviet rule.

**SIR FREDERIC BENNETT,**  
London.

### A Jordanian's View

Jordan opposed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait at the very outset, while working for a peaceful solution of the crisis. Jordan has always been against the acquisition of territory by war, and hence its stance against the occupation and annexation of Arab territories by Israel.

By the time this war is over, the region will have undergone great changes. Let us hope that they will include a more equitable sharing of wealth in the Arab world.

**OMAR NABULSI,**  
Member of the Upper House  
of Parliament.  
Amman, Jordan.

**By Simon Elegant**

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**MEANWHILE**

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ward the hillside temple where his ordeal would end. Progress was agonizingly slow. His head bobbed up and down. Sweat flew from his salt-and-pepper beard as he strained forward.

monplace lives and strive for something higher; why, through pain and self-discipline, they might try to find in themselves some small part of the god they honored with their sacrifices.

The writer, a former journalist now traveling in Malaysia, contributed this account to the International Herald Tribune.

[illegible]



# TRAVEL

International Herald Tribune

## TRAVELER'S CHOICE

WITH tourism around the world affected by recession and by the Gulf war, airlines, hotels and tour operators are offering some substantial bargains to people with flexible schedules and the time to shop around.

The good news is that some of the best deals are in the sun — the Mediterranean, Florida and the Caribbean. (The bad news is they may not last, and are only for travel in the near future.) Transatlantic air fares are way down, and many Caribbean hotels, hurt more by recession than fears of terrorism, have introduced "fly-free" packages and other discounts.

Barry Tyrrell, American Express's marketing director for U.K. Travel, said, "Everything is up for grabs. Holiday sales are down 50 to 60 percent on last year. Both package and independent tours are affected. America has nose-dived — domestic and foreign; even European city tours are affected. Hotels and airlines are desperate. I've heard of hotels offering the rooms free if you buy breakfast and a main meal at the hotel."

In many cases, travelers will get better deals by booking directly with hotels or tour operators or, for air fares, through so-called consolidators, travel agencies that buy blocks of air seats from airlines companies at reduced rates.

Many travel agents in Europe are currently recommending North America, largely because of reduced rates

on American and British carriers, both to traditional vacation areas such as Florida and to other destinations such as New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. (For example, British Airways is offering a round trip London-New York at £179 to £185 (about \$360 to \$370), and £219 to £289 to Orlando and Miami; and

New York-U.K. for \$249.)

According to Andrena Pullen, marketing manager of Trailfinders, a London-based consolidator that markets reduced air fares to individuals, that agency is selling air seats for North America about 10 percent below its usual discount fares. Trailfinders is also seeing some reductions on travel to Southeast Asia (Singapore and Bangkok) and to South Africa.

The drop in hotel bookings in the Caribbean after the outbreak of the war prompted a number of resorts to offer discounts, among them fly-free packages, according to Richard Ellis of GoGo Tours, a major tour operator in the Caribbean. For example, his firm is offering a seven-night stay at the luxurious Stouffer Grand Beach Resort on St. Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands for \$895 to \$1,455 per person (double), depending on choice of room. That price — which before the war covered lodging only — now includes air fare from several U.S. East Coast cities.

Tyrrell of American Express said, "There are special bargains from Europe to Florida because Americans are not coming down. We've negotiated all our hotel and airline contracts, good bargains. Flights into Tampa and Miami and L.A. are down, and we plan price cuts of up to 20 percent on brochure prices, at least £100 off for a two-week package tour to Florida."

"You can expect similar deals in Europe on city packages, Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam; Madrid has been cut by up to 30 percent, others by 15 to 20 percent. One of the key messages is not only are bargains available but there's capacity everywhere, even for peak periods like Easter: Florida, the Caribbean, cities in Europe."

According to Paul Mundy, a London-based specialist in cruises, "There are bargains for cruises in Europe because Americans aren't coming. For example, on Royal Princess (of the Princess Lines), you can save \$319 on a 12-day Baltic cruise from London. You can also get bargains in North and Central America because at least five ships which normally sail to Europe for the season are staying in America."

Some other cruise changes:

Sun Line Cruises, which normally operates three vessels out of Greece, also will shift its flagship, the Stella Solaris, to the Caribbean.

Pearl Cruises has canceled four winter and spring cruises calling on Bombay because of a State Department advisory recommending U.S. citizens defer all non-essential travel to India.

(IHT, WP)

## Not So Smooth Sailing When You Hit the Danube at Low Water

by Ann Pringle Harris

VIENNA — Cruise the Danube. Board your vessel, stow your things, view the plains of Romania from a poolside deck chair, follow the sun through the green-and-silver gorge of the Iron Gate, glide beneath the illuminated bridges of Budapest by night, peer at the picturesque villages of the Wachau Valley, enter Vienna by water as invading warriors once did. Or hit the Danube at low water. In that case, you may find yourself spending the first night of your cruise in a Bucharest hotel pockmarked with bullet holes from the 1989 uprising, journeying across the Romanian plains for five hours in a non-air-conditioned bus, boarding your vessel 360 miles (575 kilometers) from the Black Sea, passing through the Iron Gate at night, leaving your boat at Budapest, entering Vienna on another non-air-conditioned bus and missing the Wachau Valley altogether.

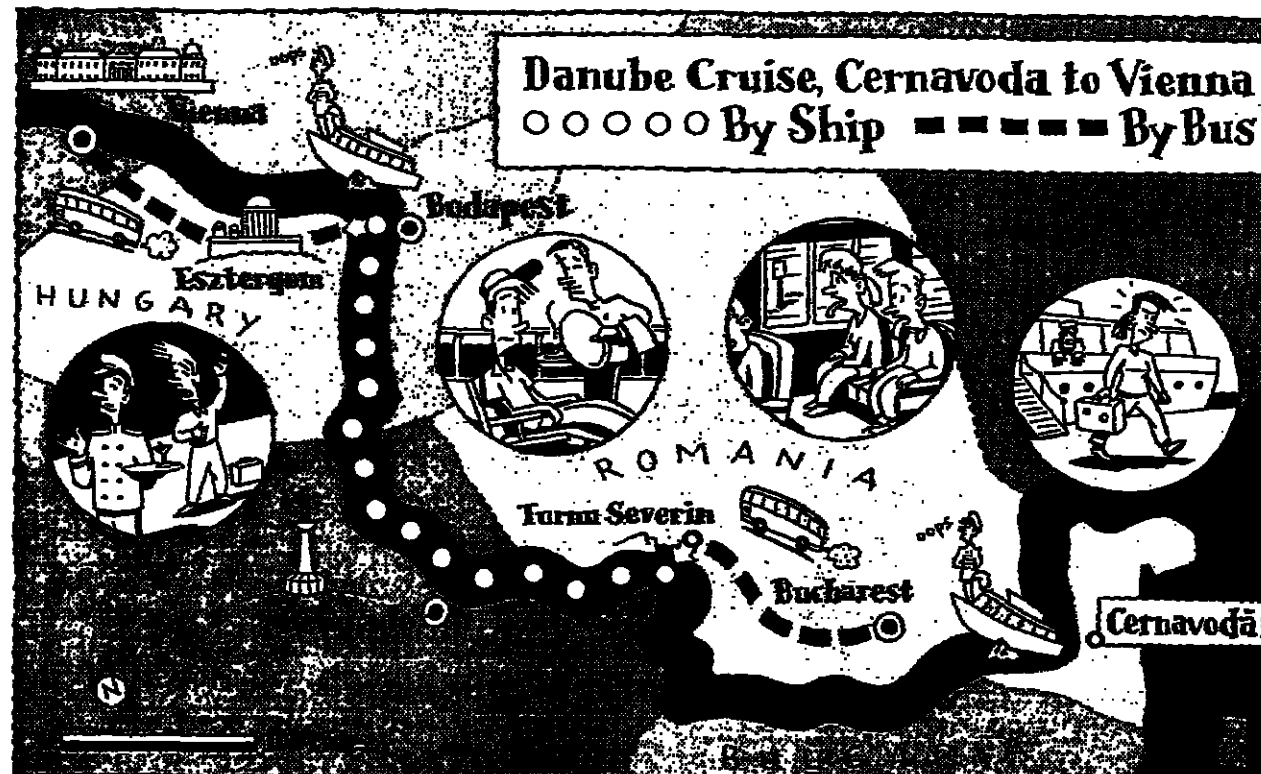
It's not a major risk. Cruise agents say that for several decades the Danube season — roughly from May to October — has run smoothly, with no long overland hauls. Wolfgang Luftner, president of Luftner Reisen, said that of 80 or more Luftner Reisen cruises in 1990, only about a dozen were re-routed. As it happened, however, my husband and I were on one of the dozen. Scheduled to begin at Cernavoda on the Danube-Black Sea Canal on Aug. 4, call at ports in Romania, Yugoslavia and Hungary and end in Vienna on Aug. 11, it fulfilled about 60 percent of that schedule.

The first sign of trouble was a three-hour wait in Vienna for the plane that was to take us to Constanta, the Black Sea town whence we would be bused to Cernavoda and our ship, the Donastar. The Donastar had run aground somewhere in Romania and could not get to Cernavoda. Instead of boarding it that night we were told we would be flown to Bucharest, put up in a first-class hotel, tour the city the next day, then travel overland to Turnu Severin, 200 miles west of Bucharest, near the Yugoslav border. There we would begin our Danube voyage.

At the Bucharest airport, we waited three hours until our baggage was unloaded. Then we were taken to the Athenaeum Palace on Independence Square, site of heavy action during the winter revolution. Perhaps it had been first class, but at the moment it looked every inch the battle-scarred veteran it was. We lugged our bags up four flights of a once-grand circular staircase and down a darkened hall to our room.

Had we been supine in deck chairs after a peaceful night on the river we would probably have skipped the optional day trip to Bucharest. No options now; the buses that took us around the city would then take us to Turnu Severin and our ship. So, somewhat edgy after a restless night, we toured what proved to be the one city on our itinerary in which the marks of third-world deprivation and neglect were strikingly evident.

Bucharest's spacious parks and gardens looked melancholy and untended. The handsome Belle Epoque buildings that remain were sad reminders of those that were torn down to make way for blocks of dreary, public-housing apartments and, in an area the size of a small town, the monumentally ugly palace and satellite buildings that Nicolae Ceausescu put up for himself and his ministries. Driving from this monstrous



Marxist Versailles to a frescoed Romanian Orthodox church in Parliament Square, where a stream of worshippers came and went, was like traveling backward in time. Or perhaps forward; our Romanian guide said that religion was now flourishing.

When we finally reached the Donastar our elation bordered on hysteria — scarcely dampened by the glasses of slivovitz offered us by white-jacketed stewards as we climbed aboard, many of us towing our own bags.

Our cabin on the Donastar — Star of the Danube, or Stearn

Dunaria in Romanian — was about 6 by 10 feet (about 2.5 by 3 meters) excluding closet and bath, and pleasantly decorated in neutral colors. Single berths were set against either wall, with space between. There was a tiled bath with shower, toilet and wash basin, a divided closet with space for about 12 hangers and a shelf for foldable clothing, plus a couple of drawers in the cabin that would hold a bit of lingerie but not much else. The Donastar accommodates about 160 passengers in two-person cabins (there are also two suites) on an upper and a

lower deck, and has a promenade deck, sundeck with pool, restaurant, bar, lounge, hairdresser and gift shop. All cabins are outside. On Monday, we enjoy to the full the poolside lounging we didn't get on Sunday, going ashore just long enough to stroll through Turnu Severin, where we see long lines of people outside the few shops that have anything to sell. Instead of making for the Iron Gate, where the Danube cuts through the Carpathian Mountains, we are at anchor outside a

power station. We wait six hours while repairs are made to the lock, and finally lock through at 9 P.M. We will pass through the Iron Gate after midnight, and we decide not to stay up — a mistake, as we learn the next morning. The ship had trained its searchlights on the granite cliffs, a full moon had risen, and the passage, though less scenic than it would have been by day, was dramatic enough. When we asked the cruise director why passengers had not been told the gorge would be illuminated he said they had been, but we could find no one

who had heard an announcement. Those who missed the Iron Gate by moonlight are disappointed, while those who saw it play down its drama.

We reach Belgrade on Wednesday, look around the city, and by tea time are back on the sundeck, thinking of Budapest. Those who fancy goulash, folk dancing and gypsy music will take a tour of Budapest by night. But those with nautical knowledge say that we are still far from Budapest, and indeed, by the time we have docked and gone through passport control it is well past 10 P.M. The gypsy caravan leaves without a full complement of passengers. Almost everyone takes the city tour the next day, and most of us are charmed by Budapest, whose special quality is to appear both highly charged and dreamlike. On our return we remain at our landing stage between the Elizabeth Bridge and the Bridge of Liberty. Although the schedule has us leaving Budapest at 1 P.M., lunchtime comes and goes and the Donastar doesn't budge.

About mid-afternoon we are summoned to the main lounge. The cruise director tells us that, owing to the low water level, the captain has decided not to take the ship farther upstream. We will disembark the next morning and travel by bus to Vienna, where we will be put up at — yes, a first-class hotel. The optional tour of the Wachau Valley will leave from the hotel and will be free to all passengers.

We are alternately amused and angry at the turn of events. Low water is a fact of nature, and although the Donastar's draft seems shallow for such caution, decision.

On the next day's tedious ride from Budapest to Vienna — it occupies most of the day — busloads

of passengers are detoured to the airport so that three passengers can pick up their cars. As a result, we hit heavy traffic going through the city and do not arrive at the Park Schöbrunn until late afternoon. Our room is inviting, even elegant. We shower, tear through our bags for clean clothes, and rush down to the lobby, because we do not want to miss the trip to the Wachau Valley.

Outside, groups of passengers mill about. The cruise director strides from the hotel entrance to the corner and back again, frowning. We wait, he strides. Finally he approaches the group. "I don't know where the buses are," he says; "where the buses are." We stare at him, speechless. It is really possible to lose four buses?

Apparently it is. The Wachau Valley trip is scratched, and a free drink is offered in compensation. We consult our guidebook; there is still time to see the Schönbrunn Palace gardens, though not the palace itself. We decline the drink.

The hotel dinner that night is minimally edible, and breakfast consists of coffee and a roll. In between these two meals, however, passengers gather in the garden of a *heuriger*, or tavern, that some enterprising soul has discovered nearby. The air is soft, the wine good, we tell one another about our childhoods, our children, our past and future trips. Everyone is in good spirits. It strikes me that the secret to being a cruise-worthy traveler is not to focus too narrowly on where you go but to enjoy the adventure of getting there. Or not getting there.

Ann Pringle Harris, who teaches English at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York, wrote this for The New York Times.

## In the Shadow of Mont Blanc



There's a slope or a piste with a vista for everyone at Chamonix, which has 200 kilometers of skiable slopes and 55 trails. In between you can take a ride on the highest cable car in the world, which reopens in March.

## Chamonix: The Count of Geneva's Gift to World-Class Skiing

by Nick Stout

CHAMONIX, France — Nobody knows for sure what Chamonix really means. Some say *champs de neige* (snow fields), others say *nid de chamois* (chamois nest), and still others say *champs de meunier* (the miller's fields). There is no agreement even on how to pronounce it, *Shah-moh-NEE* and *Shah-moh-NEEKS* being equally acceptable.

There is little dispute, however, that whatever its name, this famous Alpine valley remains one of the prize ski spots in Europe.

The people here can trace their history back nine centuries, to Aug. 16, 1091, when the Count of Geneva granted the area to the Benedictine monastery of Saint Michel de la Cluse, near Turin.

It is not clear why this particular count wanted to give Chamonix away. With Mont Blanc — the highest peak in Europe — on one side, the Aiguilles Rouges range on the other and the Arve River flowing audaciously down the middle, Chamonix was probably as pleasant then, when it was unwanted real estate, as it is today as a renowned winter resort.

There were only 300 or so nomadic souls in the Chamonix valley in 1091, when the monks established a settlement. Any notion of tourism was still almost 700 years down the road. But the tourists did arrive, and by

the middle of the 18th century a stop in Chamonix was considered a must for mountain adventures of the day.

In 1786, M. G. Pactard and Jacques Balmat came here and succeeded in climbing all 15,771 feet (4,807 meters) of Mont Blanc. George Sand and Victor Hugo also used to vacation here. So did Napoleon III. And when the first Winter Olympics were

The brochures say there are more than 200 kilometers of skiable slopes around Chamonix. These range from the tame trails of Savoy and the Planards — which always seem dotted with a colorful multitude of children — to the diversity of the Brévent sector to the Aiguille du Midi, the starting point for the challenging Vallée Blanche, a 20-kilometer unpatrolled mountain trail

for beginners, the more challenging "Pain de Sucre," the mildly difficult "Col Cornu," which goes on for 4.5 kilometers, and the new "Nants" piste, a very difficult run back down to Chamonix through the trees. And the cable car up to Le Brévent is within walking distance from the city center.

There are championship racing courses in Les Houches, and long easy trails for children and beginners in Les Chosslets. Everything is accessible from Chamonix by cable car or shuttle bus. For more information on alpine skiing, contact the Office du Tourisme (50-55-88-44).

For cross-country skiers, there are 40 kilometers of trails.

Then there is the famous "Haute Route," a 130-kilometer, high-altitude trail that winds through France, Italy and Switzerland, linking the passes between Mont Blanc and the Matterhorn. This demanding trek is not the normal cross-country trail; it requires some mountain climbing on skis, a technique that should be practiced well beforehand. Those who have done it report a rugged but exhilarating experience in which food and lodging is taken at mountain huts along the way.

Cross-country tour information is available from the Compagnie des Guides, Maison de la Montagne (50-53-00-88).

Chamonix, alas, is not one of those artificial tourist stations where you can walk out the door of your chalet and hop on the

nearest chairlift. If you do not have a car, you will have to take a little hike or catch one of the many shuttle buses to the slopes.

Hotels abound, from the fancy Mont Blanc (50-53-05-64) to the pleasant but more spartan Richmond (50-53-08-85). There are more than 80 in all, in addition to the multitude of private chalets and apartments.

Call the Association des Propriétaires de la Vallée de Chamonix (50-53-30-47) or central reservation bureau (50-53-23-33).

THE current rage in cuisine is the parrade: meat or fish grilled on a slab of hot volcanic rock Korean-style at the table. For a parrade with a reservations-only reputation, go to the Atmosphere, near the casino at 113 Place Balmain (50-55-97-97). Ask for a table overlooking the river. For elegant dining there is the restaurant in the Albert 1er hotel (50-53-05-09).

Chamonix today may be totally touristic, but there is something here that so many of the artificial ski stations lack: a real village, with an authentic train station, an old post office and even a casino.

The modern architecture is safely removed to the outer limits. And with its many shops, its alpine museum, its skating rink and its swimming center, Chamonix is certainly the place to park the non-skiing spouse who has lovingly if unenthusiastically agreed to a holiday in the snow.



TRAVEL

THE FREQUENT TRAVELER

# Small Alternatives To Big City Luxury

by Roger Collis

**A**SK a dozen travelers to recommend a hotel in any city and the chances are you'll get a dozen different replies. As there is no one true version of a city, so it is with hotels.

But a growing number of people are seeking out small, independent luxury hotels in preference to those of the large chains. In some cities a large chain hotel is the best in town, and several chains try to give a clubby environment with "concierge" or "executive" floors, the "hotel within a hotel." People want to be treated as a name rather than a room number.

How small is beautiful? "By modern standards, I suppose anything less than 150 rooms, although I define it as less than 50 rooms myself," says Christopher Chapman, who runs his family's Castle Hotel at Tamworth in the west of England. "But what it comes down to is the hospitality you receive, which is personal in the sense of being welcomed into your host's home. You're more likely to meet the proprietor. The warmth of the welcome ought to come from him."

Christopher Cole, managing director of Luckman Park, a restored Georgian manor house with 42 rooms near Bath, in southwest England, contends that even 50 rooms is too impersonal. "You lose the intimate, friendly yet discreet 'mine host' touch," he says. Looking out for such hidden gems is not always easy. The advice of aficionados is to find one you like and ask the owner to suggest similar hotels with the same style. Many small hotels have formed consortia for promotion and reservations, and some of them belong to several consortia for marketing companies.

**O**NE useful guide is the new directory of Small Luxury Hotels of the World (SLH) formed by the merger announced in January by Prestige Hotels based in London and Small Luxury Hotels and Resorts of North America. SLH lists 75 privately owned or independently run properties, mainly in Britain and America.

Among those in London is Dukas, a 62-room hotel tucked away in a quiet courtyard off Piccadilly, the Fife, an Edwardian town house in Cadogan Gardens (13 rooms, 3 suites), and the Stafford, an oasis in St. James's Place (62 rooms).

Country hotels range from Culoden House (20 rooms) five miles from Inverness Airport in Scotland, headquarters of Bonnie Prince Charlie before the disastrous battle of Culloden in 1746, to the Royal Crescent (28 rooms) in Bath, a magnificent Georgian building with Chippendale and Hepplewhite furniture, and Cliveden (31 rooms), the Astor home, in 375 acres of gardens and 20 minutes from Heathrow.

In Paris there is the Balzac, a belle époque town house (70 rooms) and the Lancaster (94 rooms), more like a country house than a hotel, both just off Avenue des Champs-Élysées. In Frankfurt, there is the Hessischer Hof (114 rooms) and in nearby Kronberg the Schlosshotel (57 rooms).

—built for Dowager Empress Victoria, daughter of Britain's Queen Victoria, in 1889. In Asia, there is the Seijo Ginzai in Tokyo—it has 80 rooms and guests are assigned a private concierge—and the legendary Raffles in central Singapore, due to reopen, restored, in mid-1991 (104 rooms).

SLH hotels in North America include the Sherman House in San Francisco, with 14 rooms and suites in Second Empire style, with wood-burning fireplaces and black marble bathrooms, and marvelous views. New York has the Lowell, an Art Deco refuge on the Upper East Side with 61 rooms and suites. The Fairmont in San Antonio is an intimate hotel with 20 rooms and 17 suites, each different in design, three blocks from the Alamo; the Lancaster in Houston (94 rooms) is in the heart of

*In seeking out small hotels, what it comes down to is hospitality.*

the financial and theater district, and the Maison de Ville (23 rooms) in New Orleans, is in the heart of the French Quarter.

London and Paris have an abundance of small, luxury hotels that I have not seen in brochures. There's the Canzaro House, a restored Georgian house on Wimbledon Common with 56 rooms and a peaceful setting; Abbey Court, a restored Victorian house in Kensington (22 rooms, some with four-poster beds) and run by a former Ritz manager; Dorset Square, a country-house style hotel with 37 rooms and 12 suites, one with a grand piano; near Harrods are the Beaufort (28 rooms), which gives guests their own key to the front door, and L'Hotel has just 12 spacious rooms. There's no room service but breakfast is served in the chic bistro.

L'Hotel in Paris is one of the most stylish of the small hotels in the city (22 rooms). You can ask for the room where Oscar Wilde died in 1900, or Mistinguett's, with its Art Nouveau furniture. Relais Christine is in a restored 16th-century manor near Pont Neuf, with 51 spacious rooms, oak-paneled lobby and a charming courtyard; La Résidence du Bois, is tucked away in a quiet street near the Étoile (16 spacious rooms), and the Hôtel de Vigny in Rue Balzac (37 rooms and suites) is comfortable and handy for the Champs-Élysées area.

In Stockholm, you might want to try the Clas Pa Hörner, a family-run 18th-century inn with 10 rooms and a renowned restaurant, or in Vienna the Hotel im Palais Schwarzenberg, a glorious baroque building (34 rooms and four suites) furnished with antiques in 15 acres of gardens and with a fine terrace restaurant.

These are just a few suggestions. I am sure you'll find more hidden gems of your own.

(Small Luxury Hotels of the World: 1991 Directory, 21 Blades Court, Deodar Road London SW15 2NU, or 337 South Robertson Boulevard, Suite 202, Beverly Hills, California 90211.)

# Quebec in Winter: The City at Its Most French

by Bernard Simon

**Q**UEBEC — It's snowing, the sidewalks are icy and the temperature is around zero. Why on earth would anyone want to be in this city at this time of year? For a start, precisely because it's midwinter. Even summer's best moments cannot match the magic of crunching through fresh snow after dark along the boardwalk in front of the Chateau Frontenac hotel, the city's grande dame.

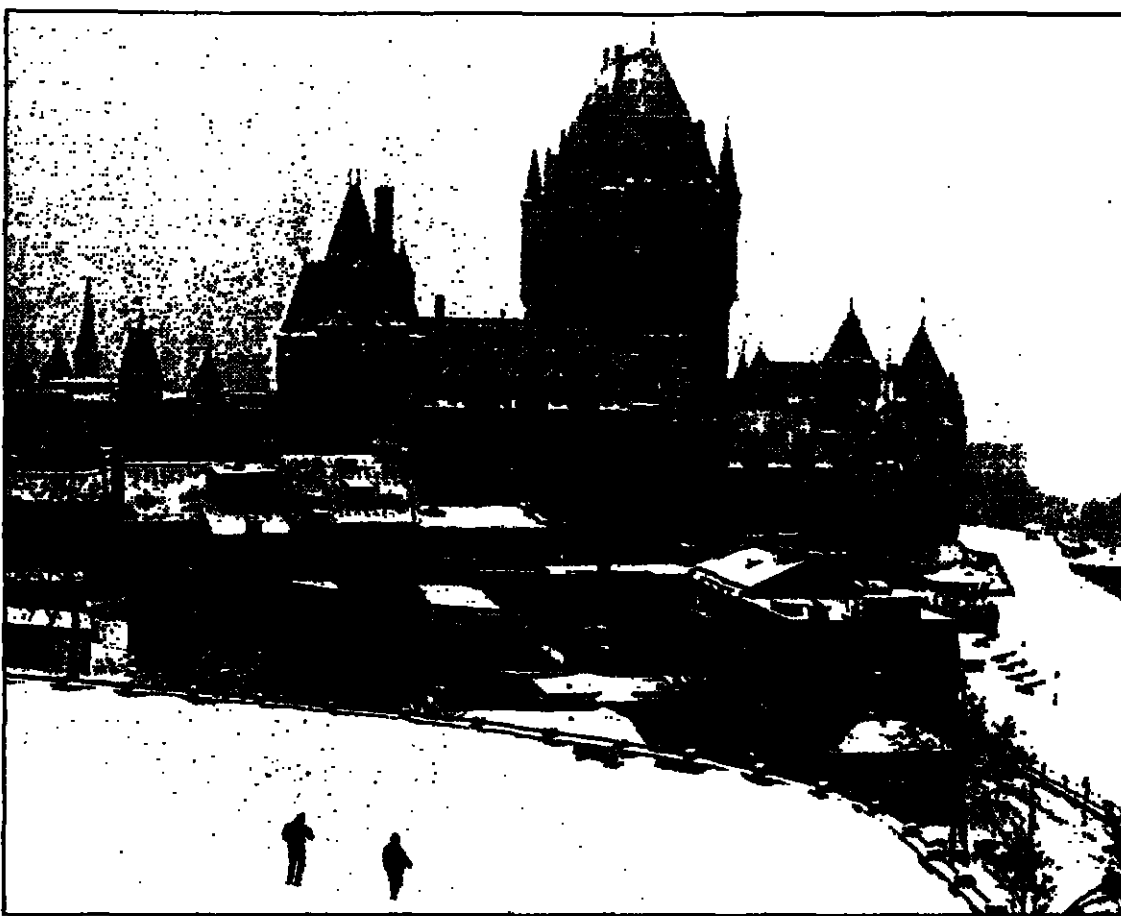
On one side, beyond the Lower Town below, blue-white ice flows are silhouetted against the forbidding waters of the St. Lawrence River. On the other, towering above, are the hotel's fairy-tale turrets and floodlit copper roof. Although it's 10 P.M., cross-country skiers are making their way along snow-covered sidewalks toward the Plains of Abraham, a few hundred yards away.

In the Lower Town, a quick ride on a funicular railway down the cliffside, are the narrow streets of the Quartier Petit-Charlemagne, where restaurants and boutique windows are half hidden by rows of snow-laden miniature pine trees decorated with white lights.

Less cosmopolitan and smaller than Montreal, 160 miles to the southwest, Quebec is at its most French in midwinter. It will be another three months or so before the buses start arriving with Ontario schoolchildren, for whom the trip to the capital of North America's major French-speaking territory is the one taste many of them ever get of Canada's "other" culture. Skiers heading for nearby resorts often stop in the city to sample the restaurants and browse in the art galleries and boutiques. This is also the season for the city's Winter Carnival, from Feb. 7 to 17, with such events as car racing on ice, ice fishing and a canoe race across the half-frozen St. Lawrence.

Whatever the season, these are momentous times for the province of Quebec. Its 6.5 million people are on the cusp of a decision whether to remain part of Canada and, if so, on what terms. Although there is an ill-defined nervousness that the Francophone province might lose something by breaking away, the mood in favor of some form of independence has never been stronger. Most of the Québécois, 90 percent of whom have French as their mother tongue, already think of themselves as Québécois first and Canadians second. Quebec city itself has the ambience of a foreign capital, rather than the seat of one of Canada's 10 provincial governments.

Local newspapers and television programs carry more news about the United States and Europe than about English-speaking Canada. To the intrusion of Canadian federalists, the province's blue and white fleur-de-lis flag is more in evidence than the Canadian maple leaf. The city's shopkeepers, writers and cab-drivers amiably try to communicate with English-speaking visitors, and usually



The turrets of the Chateau Frontenac, seen from the Citadel, loom over snow-clad Quebec.

speak a little English, but in many cases not enough to conduct a conversation.

The seminal event in the rift between English and French-speaking Canada was General James Wolfe's victory over the French forces led by the Marquis de Montcalm at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham—adjacent to the old city—in 1759. Still known by French Canadians as the conquest, the battle gave the British undisputed military and political control of what is now eastern Canada.

Although many of the city's 165,000 residents speak barely a word of English, British influence continues to pervade the city. The Citadel, ramparts and towers along the cliff overlooking the St. Lawrence were built by the British. Within the walls of the old city are several English churches, including the Holy Trinity Anglican Cathedral, which is modeled on St. Martin-in-the-Fields in London. Even in the Hôtel du Parlement, the most visible symbol of resurgent Quebec nationalism, door handles are engraved with the letters VR (for Victoria Regina).

The Upper Town, the old city's haphazard walled section, is less than a mile from north to south and about half a mile at its widest. Many of its 18th- and

19th-century buildings are still in use as private homes and government offices.

The main shopping street is Rue Saint-Jean, with a variety of boutiques, though the best selection of art galleries and antique shops is below the walls on Rue Saint-Paul, a block or two from the Musée de la Civilisation. Other specialty boutiques are in the Quartier Petit-Charlemagne, also in the Lower Town below the Chateau Frontenac.

The pride of the city's museums, the Musée du Québec, on the Plains of Abraham, will reopen this spring after a renovation. It includes the addition of a new wing, the converted 130-year-old men's prison. Meanwhile, the events leading up to the British victory in 1759 are vividly depicted at the privately owned Musée du Fort, which is a sensible first stop on a city tour for any stranger to Canadian history. Using a 400-square-foot model of the city area and lights on a wall map of northeast North America, the 30-minute audiovisual show re-creates the clashes between the British and French and includes a detailed description of how Wolfe finally outwitted Montcalm.

For two centuries after the conquest, during which French Canadians kept to

the sidelines of politics and business, their society and culture were sustained by the Roman Catholic Church. Nuns and monks ran fine schools and hospitals, and the church became a wealthy landowner and the beneficiary of much of the art and craftsmanship of the French-speaking community.

Members of five Catholic orders still live within the old walled city and several have put parts of their buildings and some of their artifacts on public display. Among them are the Ursuline Sisters, whose museum includes a well that was dug indoors, partly to make it easier for the nuns to collect water during winter, but also for fear that the British would poison the convent's water supply.

One of the museum's guides, Sister Godin, was raised in Toronto and speaks flawless English. With a twinkle in her eye, and struggling off the admonition of a fellow nun, she will gladly show a curious visitor around the adjacent chapel and girls' school, normally out of bounds to the public.

But the church has rapidly faded as a force since what Québécois call their Quiet Revolution, in the 1960s, thrust Québec society into the secular mainstream of North America. The Augustin-

ian Nuns of Quebec city, who in 1639 built the first hospital north of Mexico, have not recruited a single novice in 10 years. The days when Ursuline nuns filled the 80 magnificent mahogany choir stalls in their chapel are gone. The 68 nuns who remain—their average age is almost 70—now worship at a few rows of prayer desks in front of the altar.

Quebec's assertiveness is spearheaded these days by a new generation of French Canadian entrepreneurs, most of them based in Montreal, and by the political elite in Quebec city. The heart of Quebec nationalism beats most strongly in the Hôtel du Parlement, the imposing legislative building just outside the old city's walls, whose French classical design bears more than a passing resemblance to the Louvre. While Canada's other provinces are happy to pass their laws in relatively modest legislative buildings, the grand, sky-blue French Renaissance chamber of Quebec's 125-member Assemblée Nationale would do justice to any national parliament.

For many visitors to the city, the most attractive place to stay is the 98-year-old Chateau Frontenac. A \$43 million renovation, including the redecoration of all 558 rooms, is close to completion. Gilbert Cashman, the hotel's general manager, says another project will begin this spring. Its centerpiece will be a new four-story wing (complete with turrets and copper roof) to be built above an existing parking garage adjacent to the hotel. The circular Bar Saint-Laurent, a favorite watering hole of Quebec politicians, will be extended to include a glass-enclosed area overlooking the river.

**B**OTH were closed seven years ago, partly because of concerns about structural stability. But Parks Canada (the national service with jurisdiction over the boardwalk), the city authorities and the hotel have all recently become more enthusiastic about these amenities.

Outdoor sports are a favorite pastime of Québécois in winter. Quebec on Ice, an exhibit at the Musée de la Civilisation, shows how Québécois sportsmen and women have been able to turn winter from an adversity into an opportunity for fun and exercise.

The secret, it seems, is to adapt conventional summer sports equipment with studs, spikes or skates. Heavily studded tires give motorcycles sufficient traction to race on ice. A horse can be fitted with one of several different types of studded shoes. A pair of skates and sail gear you wind up on ice. And ice fishing, done from a cabin with fishing lines attached to the rafters and a wooden stove for warmth, is as relaxing for hardy Québécois as sitting on a river bank in midsummer.

Bernard Simon is the correspondent in Canada for The Financial Times. He wrote this for The New York Times.

## INTERNATIONAL ARTS GUIDE

### AUSTRIA

**Vienna** (tel: 534.85). To Feb. 27: 120 paintings by the Armenian-American artist Arshile Gorky. Theater an der Wien (tel: 537.98.43). "Freudiana," a musical comedy based on the ideas of Sigmund Freud, with music by Alan Parsons Project, through May 14.

### ENGLAND

**Bradford** National Museum of Photography, Film and Television (tel: 727.488). To April 28: "Anti-Portrait: A collection of portraits of a different kind,

including photographs by David Bailey, Nigel Parry and Steve Pyke.

**London** Barbican Art Gallery (tel: 688.4141). To April 1: "The Apotheosis of Love," a century tribute to 20th-century British artist Stanley Spencer. "Man Ray: Bazaar Years," fashion photographs from 1922 to 1942. British Museum (tel: 580.17.89). To March 24: Archeology and the Bible: one of the Dead Sea Scrolls is among 300 exhibits from the Holy Land dating back 9,000 years.

**National Portrait Gallery** (tel: 588.6821). To March 17: "The Face of Love," a multi-media exhibition commemorating the bicentenary of the birth of the Egyptologist J.F. Champollion (1790-1832) includes 300 exhibits.

**Centre Georges Pompidou** (tel: 47.77.12.35). To Feb. 25: "Art & Pub," the link between art and advertising illustrated in 1,200 exhibits from 1890-1990. To April 1: 30 drawings by Joan Gris done between 1915 and 1921.

**Condégarie** (tel: 43.54.30.08). To Feb. 28: Saint Bernard and the Cistercian World: 300 exhibits—manuscripts, stained glass, paintings—focus on Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) and the development of the Cistercian order.

**Musée d'Art Moderne de la ville de Paris** (tel: 47.23.61.27). To March 10: Art in Belgium in the 20th century. Includes 300 works.

**Musée du Louvre** (tel: 47.60.38.26). To Feb. 18: Roman drawings from Mural to Fresco (1650-1760): 145 works are on view.

**Musée d'Orsay** (tel: 40.49.48.14). To March 10: From Manet to Monet: a panorama of occidental art from 1850 to 1914. Over 200 works from the Museum's acquisitions since 1983.

**Opéra Bastille** (tel: 40.01.16.16). To Feb. 13: Luciano Berio's opera "Un Re in Ascolto," written in collaboration with the late Italian novelist Italo Calvino, produced by Graham Vick and conducted by Stephen Harrop.

**Opéra de Paris, Palais Garnier** (tel: 47.42.53.71). To Feb. 17: The Bolshoi Ballet with Prokofiev's "Ivan the Terrible," choreographed and directed by Yuri Grigorovich.

**Royal Academy of Arts** (tel: 734.9052). To Feb. 17: Egon Schiele and His Contemporaries: 52 paintings and drawings by Schiele, and works by Klimt, Kokoschka and others.

### FRANCE

**Paris** Bibliothèque Nationale (tel: 47.03.81.10). To March 17: "Mémories of Egypt" a multi-media exhibition commemorating the bicentenary of the birth of the Egyptologist J.F. Champollion (1790-1832) includes 300 exhibits.

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**Feb. 25: Anselm Kiefer: Works 1983-1990.**

### COLOGNE

**Wallraf-Richartz-Museum** (tel: 221.23.79). To Feb. 14: Raphael and Italian Renaissance Drawing: masterworks from the museum's collection and from the Lille museum of art.

### DRESDEN

**Albertinum**. To Feb. 24: Martin Schongauer and Late Gothic Art.

### DUSSELDORF

**Kunststammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen** (tel: 13.39.61). To March 1: Modigliani: a retrospective which focuses on the artist's portraits includes 50 paintings, 80 drawings and nine sculptures.

### FRANKFURT

**Schirn Kunsthalle** (tel: 29.98.82). To March 3: Jean Dubuffet (1901-1985): a comprehensive retrospective of 300 portraits, sculptures, collages and graphic works.

**Werkbund**. To Feb. 17: From Bauhaus to Bauhaus, 41 Years of Design from the G.D.R.

### MUNICH

**Hypo Kunsthalle** (tel: 22.44.12). To March 3: "Royal Dresden: Court Art of the 18th Century." Paintings, porcelain, engravings and decorative art from Dresden museums.

### STUTTGART

**Staatgalerie** (tel: 212.50.50). To Feb. 17: Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665-1747): a retrospective of 100 paintings.

### ITALY

#### Milan

**Palazzo Reale** (tel: 87.19.13). To April 28: "Settecento Lombardo: Masters and Apprentices from 1680 to 1780." More than 500 works including paintings by Crespi, Ricci and Bonomi, and sculptures and engravings by Callegari and Saltori.

#### Rome

**Palazzo Ruspoli**. To March 3: "From van Gogh to Klee," Expressionist masterworks from the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection.

#### Turin

**Palazzo Reale**. To Feb. 24: Marc

**Chagall: 70 drawings, watercolors and graphics, including work from the artist's years in Paris in the 1920s.**

### NETHERLANDS

#### Amsterdam

**Joods Historisch Museum** (tel: 10.10.10). To March 10: "The Ghetto in Venice" covers the period between the 16th century and Napoleon's abolition of the ghetto in 1797.

**Rijksmuseum** (tel: 63.21.21). To Feb. 17: Dutch Watercolors of the 18th century: 70 works from the museum's collection. To March 10: "Painters of Venice," a show of 50 examples of the Venetian "vedute," by Canaletto, Guardi and others, from collections worldwide.

**Van Gogh Museum** (tel: 570.82.00). To Feb. 17: "Vincent van Gogh and Modern Art—1890-1914." Fifty works by van Gogh and 130 works by artists including Braque, Picasso, Matisse, Max Ernst, E.L. Kirchner, Ench Hecker.

#### Groningen

**Groninger Museum** (tel: 18.33.43). To March 10: "A self-portrait" of the museum in the form of 150 works from its collection, including Dutch silver, master painting, modern art and archaeological exhibits.

### SPAIN

#### Madrid

**Centro de Arte Reina Sofia** (tel: 467.50.62). To May 8: "The Guggenheim Collection: Masterpieces of Modern Art." 180 paintings and sculptures from the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York and the Peggy Guggenheim Collection in Venice. Includes works by Kandinsky, Picasso, Pollock and van Gogh.

#### Geneva

**Musée Barbier-Mueller** (tel: 86.46.46). To April 15: "Pictorial Art of the Pygmies," features Pygmy art from Zaire. To April 15: "Predynastic and Pharaonic Egyptian Art," 67 archaeological pieces from the museum's collection.

### MARTIGNY

**Fondation Pierre Gassman** (tel: 2.38.70). To Feb. 24: Camille Claudel: a retrospective of the artist's sculptures.

### UNITED STATES

#### Chicago

**Art Institute** (tel: 443.3500). To April 21: Early modernist photography featuring works by Kertész, Nadar and Rodchenko.

#### Fort Worth

**Kimbell Museum** (tel: 332.8451). To Feb. 24: An array of 52 classic garments and accessories from the 1960s are shown in "The Art of Fashion: The Radical Sixties."

#### New York

**Carnegie Hall** (tel: 847.7800). The San Francisco Symphony conducted by Herbert Blomstedt, featuring the cellist Yo-Yo Ma. Feb. 25: The Vienna Philharmonic conducted by Claudio Abbado. Feb. 26 to March 3: Lincoln Center (tel: 670.5570). The Joffrey Ballet celebrates its 35th anniversary with a gala performance of new American choreography. March 5: also presents a revival of Prokofiev's "Romeo and Juliet," choreographed by John Cranko. March 8-12.

#### San Francisco

**Museum of Modern Art** (tel: 863.8800). To March 24: 120 black and white photographs trace the career of Josef Koudelka.

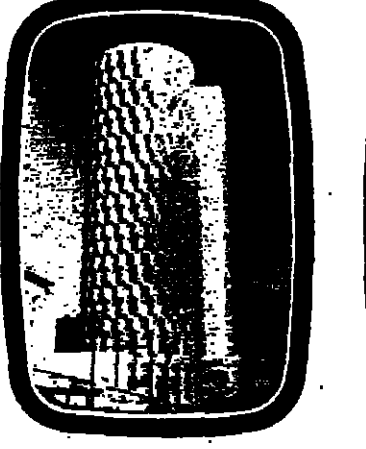
#### Washington

**National Gallery** (tel: 737.4215). To Feb. 24: Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641): a show including about 100 paintings. To April 28: "Eva/Ave: Women in Renaissance and Baroque Prints," 152 woodcuts and other prints. National Portrait Gallery (tel: 357.2700). To Feb. 17: "Lincoln and his Contemporaries: Photographs by Matthew Brady from the Frederick Hill Meserve Collection." To Feb. 18: 150 images of British personalities are presented in "Camera Portraits: Photographs from the National Portrait Gallery, London, 1839-1989." Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (tel: 357.2700). To May 26: "Antoin Sevigny: Photographs of Iran." Iranian society at the turn of the century.

- ACROSS**
- Actor Baldwin
  - Comply
  - A-to-Z
  - Kind of gravure
  - Lacoste of tennis
  - Unique
  - Russian sea
  - Singer Billy
  - Site of Leonardo's "The Last Supper"
  - Ringing line from Poe?
  - Typical De Mille film
  - Wrestler's goal
  - Maxim
  - Cobra's kin
  - Deli order
  - Mother of St. Augustine
  - Ending for east or west
  - Odin's spouse: Var.
  - Smashing line from Tennyson?
  - Actor Mark Baker
  - Fla.'s "Singing Tower"
  - Shirt section
  - Tuck away
  - Back
  - Marcel's waves
  - Service org.
  - Clapton or Blore
  - Brilliant line from Whitman?
  - "... he crooked mile"
  - Girl in TV's "Grand"
  - Heath for Heathcliff
  - Patrols
  - Konkist
  - The comics crime fighter
  - Kind of paper
  - Wizened
  - Zola protagonist
  - Myra of the keyboard
  - Pointless
  - Finest part
  - Bombeck
  - Joey
  - Famous castle on the Loire
  - Silgrat hint
  - Jolly boat
  - Ahead
  - "Drink" playwright
  - Loot
  - Mannheim mister
  - Acress Swenson
  - Myra of the keyboard
  - Pointless
  - Finest part
  - Bombeck

**Solution to Previous Puzzle**

BRAC ABATE BAR  
MALUM MUSEUM ARI  
WHEREWITHAL NIN  
ROAST WAKED  
SPENDS COPAL  
ATONES ALARIC  
BOSC CHASM CRI  
EASY CRASH FOOD  
RTE THERE OUSE  
SCREED BARNES  
ASHOT RAITTS  
ORIEL POILU  
ODO LEGALTENDER  
ZEN ELATE DEANE  
ENS RITES SHAY



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# NYSE

Thursday's Closing  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and are not reflected late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	P/E	30d	High	Low	25d	20d	10d	5d	1d	1h	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m	1w	1m
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401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500
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STREET WATCH  
Financial High  
Watch Stock

KEY RATES

WEST RATES

GOLD

مكتبات الاصل

(Continued on Page 15)







## MARKET DIARY

Dow Driven Lower  
After 2-Week Run

NEW YORK — The Dow Jones industrial average finally succumbed to a bout of profit-taking on Thursday in very heavy trading, staging their first significant pullback in more than two weeks.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which surged 42.57 points Wednesday to its highest level in six months, lost 30.30 to close at 2,810.64.

Among broader market gauges, the New York Stock Exchange composite index fell 0.63 to 194.75 and Standard & Poor's 500-stock index lost 1.55 to 356.52.

Advances noted on declines by a thin margin, while NYSE volume totaled 292.19 million shares, up from 276.40 million Wednesday.

In what has become a pattern for the market during recent sessions, prices opened lower on profit-taking concentrated in the blue-chip stocks, which have risen almost 400

points on the Dow from their January lows.

The Dow bottomed out at 2,470 on Jan. 9, after efforts at a peaceful resolution of the Middle East crisis failed.

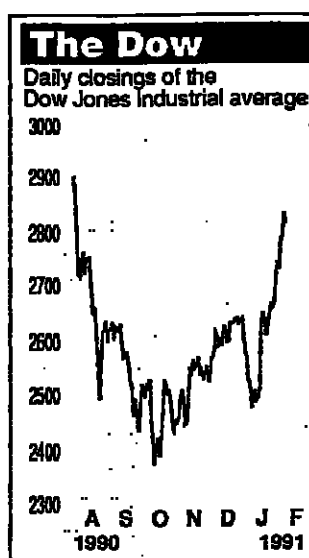
Thursday's session was volatile, and prices quickly recovered from the weaker opening. By midday, the market extended its gains. Oil issues led the way early on, following through on gains registered during Wednesday's session.

But by early afternoon, the blue chips' gains evaporated and the Dow turned sharply lower as a new wave of profit-taking surfaced.

Chrysler was the most active issue, off 1/2 to 12, after the No. 3 U.S. automaker posted a fourth-quarter profit of \$31 million.

General Motors followed, up 1/4 to 35 1/2. Philip Morris was third, off 1/4 to 53 1/2.

Among the other blue chips, Exxon rose 1/4 to 53 1/2 as oil issues lost some of their early gains, while AT&T rose 1/4 to 34 1/2 and IBM lost 1/4 to 128 1/2.



NYSE Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63

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Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
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1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
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1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63

NYSE Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
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1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63

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Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
1,100,000	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63

## Dow Jones Averages

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Dow Jones	2840.00	2840.00	2810.64	2810.64	-30.30
S&P 500	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55
NASDAQ	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Standard &amp; Poor's Indexes

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
S&P 500	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55
S&P 400	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55
S&P 600	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55

## NYSE Indexes

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE Composite	194.75	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
NYSE Industrial	194.75	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63
NYSE Utility	194.75	194.75	194.75	194.75	-0.63

## NASDAQ Indexes

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NASDAQ Composite	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
NASDAQ Industrial	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
NASDAQ Utility	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## AMEX Stock Index

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
AMEX Industrial	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56
AMEX Utility	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56
AMEX Financial	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56

## Dow Jones Bond Averages

Bond	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
10-Year	92.40	92.40	92.40	92.40	0.00
30-Year	92.40	92.40	92.40	92.40	0.00
1-3 Month	92.40	92.40	92.40	92.40	0.00

## Market Sales

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE Volume	292.19	292.19	292.19	292.19	0.00
S&P Volume	292.19	292.19	292.19	292.19	0.00
NASDAQ Volume	292.19	292.19	292.19	292.19	0.00

## N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE Odd-Lot	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
NYSE Odd-Lot	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
NYSE Odd-Lot	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Dividends

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE Dividend	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
NYSE Dividend	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
NYSE Dividend	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Amex Diary

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
AMEX Industrial	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56
AMEX Utility	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56
AMEX Financial	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56

## NASDAQ Diary

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NASDAQ Composite	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
NASDAQ Industrial	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
NASDAQ Utility	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## S&amp;P 100 Index Options

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
S&P 100 Call	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55
S&P 100 Put	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55
S&P 100 Index	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55

## Currency Options

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
USD/DEM	1.60	1.60	1.60	1.60	0.00
USD/GBP	1.60	1.60	1.60	1.60	0.00
USD/JPY	1.60	1.60	1.60	1.60	0.00

## Philadelphia Exchange

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
PHLX Industrial	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56
PHLX Utility	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56
PHLX Financial	338.00	338.00	334.44	334.44	-3.56

## London Metals

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Gold	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55
Silver	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55
Copper	358.00	358.00	356.52	356.52	-1.55

## Spot Commodities

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Corn	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## U.S. FUTURES

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Corn	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Grains

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Corn	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Wheat (CBOT)

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Wheat (CBOT)

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Wheat	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Soybeans (CBOT)

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Soybeans (CBOT)

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Soybeans	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Cattle (CME)

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Cattle	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Cattle	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Cattle	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Pork (CME)

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Pork	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Pork	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Pork	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00

## Pork (CME)

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Pork	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00
Pork	1100.00	1100.00	1090.00	1090.00	-10.00







# NASDAQ

Thursday's Prices  
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time.  
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000  
most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is  
updated twice a year.

Symbol	Stock	Do	Yk	PE	High	Low	Open	Close
IBM	IBM Corp.	110	110	11	110 1/4	109 3/4	110 1/4	110 1/4
MSFT	Microsoft Corp.	34	34	15	34 1/2	34 1/4	34 1/2	34 1/2
ORCL	Oracle Corp.	28	28	12	28 1/2	28 1/4	28 1/2	28 1/2
QCOM	Qualcomm Inc.	45	45	18	45 1/2	45 1/4	45 1/2	45 1/2
INTL	Intel Corp.	38	38	14	38 1/2	38 1/4	38 1/2	38 1/2
TXN	Texas Instruments	42	42	16	42 1/2	42 1/4	42 1/2	42 1/2
AMD	Advanced Micro Devices	32	32	13	32 1/2	32 1/4	32 1/2	32 1/2
SGS	SGS-Thomson	25	25	10	25 1/2	25 1/4	25 1/2	25 1/2
WDC	Western Digital	22	22	9	22 1/2	22 1/4	22 1/2	22 1/2
LSI	LSI Logic	20	20	8	20 1/2	20 1/4	20 1/2	20 1/2

# AMEX

Thursday's Closing  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to  
the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect  
late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

Symbol	Stock	Do	Yk	PE	High	Low	Open	Close
AMEX	AMEX Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX500	AMEX 500 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX100	AMEX 100 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX200	AMEX 200 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX300	AMEX 300 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX400	AMEX 400 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX500	AMEX 500 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX600	AMEX 600 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX700	AMEX 700 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
AMEX800	AMEX 800 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4

# NYSE

Thursday's Closing  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to  
the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect  
late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

Symbol	Stock	Do	Yk	PE	High	Low	Open	Close
NYSE	NYSE Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE500	NYSE 500 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE100	NYSE 100 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE200	NYSE 200 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE300	NYSE 300 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE400	NYSE 400 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE500	NYSE 500 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE600	NYSE 600 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE700	NYSE 700 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4
NYSE800	NYSE 800 Index	100	100	10	100 1/4	99 3/4	100 1/4	100 1/4

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## SPORTS

Pullout  
By Milla  
Criticized

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
LONDON — As Cameroon's soccer team flew home Thursday after losing to England in an international friendly here, there was unhappiness among some players because of the refusal of star striker Roger Milla to play after he was refused appearance money.

England won the match, 2-0, as Gary Lineker scored twice before a crowd of 60,000.

Milla, a 38-year-old veteran who scored four goals when Cameroon reached last year's World Cup quarterfinals, had reportedly asked for a special payment to appear in his familiar role as a substitute.

But the English soccer association told Cameroon officials it would not pay money to an individual player.

When the teams were announced 20 minutes before the game in Wembley Stadium, Milla was included among the substitutes. The English governing body was told that Milla was not playing as the teams took the field.

"We're very angry about Milla," said Stephen Tataw, Cameroon's captain. "The rest of the players told him, 'How can you come over here and then decide you are not going to play?'"

"He made it very difficult for us, but there have been a lot of problems."

But Milla blamed others, saying the English association and sponsors "did not keep their promise about the money."

Milla continued, "It wasn't me who asked for the money, but our federation was told that someone in England would give me it. No one came to see me, so I did not play. Roger Milla means what he says."

Lineker's goals Wednesday night came on a penalty kick in the 20th minute and a corner kick 16 minutes into the second half. Lineker also scored twice against Cameroon in the World Cup quarterfinals.

In an Italian Cup quarterfinal, Napoli was upset at home, 1-0, by Bologna. Napoli was without star forward Diego Maradona, who was left off the team because he deserted practice this week.

Thursday, Napoli asked the Italian federation to suspend Maradona. (AFP, Reuters, AP)



Eric Swann never played college football, but some think that he could be a first-round selection in the NFL's April draft. "But," cautions George Young of the Giants, "he is very, very, very raw."

## Swann: NFL's Nowhere Man

By Samantha Stevenson

NEW YORK — Eric Swann has never played a down of college football. But the 20-year-old defensive lineman has successfully petitioned the National Football League to be eligible for its draft under a special exemption, and there are scouts who believe he could be a first- or second-round selection in April.

Swann was the most unlikely name among 29 underclassmen who were approved this week by the league for entry into the draft. He is working out now with other prospects at a scouting combine in Indianapolis.

At 6 feet 4 1/2 inches (1.98 meters) and 309 pounds (140 kilograms), with sprint-like speed, Swann is no mystery to the NFL. But can a player with an Arnold Schwarzenegger body but only a handful of minor league games make the quantum leap to the NFL?

"Sure, we've seen him," said George Young, general manager of the New York Giants. "He has great size and potential. But, he is very, very, very raw."

"We don't know if he can play football. By draft time, we'll have a grade on the guy, good or bad."

Dick Mansberger, the college scouting director of the Dallas Cowboys, who has three first-round picks, said that Swann was "intelligent, but it will take him awhile to pick up the game."

"We have to wait and see," Mansberger said. "There is a chance he can bring his rhythms to the line and a chance he won't. It's so hard to find a defensive lineman who can bring a natural talent of size and speed like Swann."

Swann tried to go to college. In 1989, his senior year in high school in Sanford, North Carolina, he signed a letter of intent to attend North Carolina State. But he failed to achieve the minimum score of 700 on his Scholastic Aptitude Test, a college entrance exam.

Dick Sheridan, the North Carolina State coach,

recommended that Swann sit out a year and learn to take the test.

"He kept telling me I could do it," said Swann, who graduated from Western Hartsell High School with a 2.7 (out of 4.0) grade-point average. "I took that test eight times. I never got higher than 670. I don't know. They timed you and it made me nervous."

Eric's father, Leslie, an accountant and purchasing agent, said his son didn't have a learning problem. "He has an anxiety for testing," he said.

Swann could have entered North Carolina State, but would have had to sit out his freshman year because of his test scores. His mother, Gloria, a special education teacher, asked him to choose junior college or prep school, but Swann moved to Raleigh, where he worked in maintenance at the state fair grounds, and enrolled in a six-week SAT training course.

Last May, unable to accept failure anymore, Swann contacted Dick Bell, an agent and general manager of the Bay State Titans, a now-defunct minor league team.

Bell said he timed Swann at 4.75 seconds in the 40-yard (36.5-meter) dash.

"I offered him the chance to come and play for me in Boston," said Bell. "I promised his Mom I would treat him like a son."

Swann, played 11 games with the Titans, who were members of a league for undrafted college players and drafted players who didn't make it in the NFL.

"It was a lot of guys sitting around moping and groaning about how tough it was in the NFL," said Swann, who finished the season with 72 tackles, 11 sacks, four blocked field goals and two fumble recoveries. "I got sick of listening to these guys. I'm a tough guy. I knew I was determined to make it."

Swann's confidence on the football field is staggering. "I'll go somewhere in the first, high in the second," he said.

## Ripples From the Gulf War and U.S. Recession Bode Ill for Horse Racing Industry

By Joseph Durso

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — When war broke out in the Gulf last month, the eyes of the horse-racing world were turned on the annual January sale of thoroughbreds at Keeneland in Kentucky, a world-class auction that can make champions or break fortunes.

To be precise, the eyes of the racing world were turned on the big plungers, the princes and sheikhs from Dubai and Saudi Arabia, who have spent \$250 million at Keeneland in the last 10 years and now own 500 mares and 900 thoroughbreds in training on a dozen major farms in Kentucky, Ireland and England.

This time, they bought two horses. "They arrived in Kentucky in 1981 and they've been the most significant group of foreign buyers by far," said James E. Bassett Jr., chairman of the Keeneland Association and director of the Breeders' Cup. "They buy at the top of the market. But their interest may wane."

To Calumet Farm, the home of champions, it looked as though everybody's interest might wane. The farm sent 96 horses into the auction ring at Keeneland that same week in an effort to reduce

its stock, did not hear the bids it had expected and went home with 34 of them.

"I've never seen so many people sell horses that didn't have a bottom price," explained J.T. Lundy, the president of Calumet.

Thoroughbred racing is a luxury to some, a way of life to others, a livelihood to thousands and a \$2 bet to millions. In the United States, it attracts about 60 million people to tracks in 36 states on a total of 8,000 racing dates each year, and they bet more than \$9 billion, while \$3.5 billion more is bet at off-track parlors or casinos.

But attendance and even betting seem to be waning, along with the sheikhs' interest in buying horses at Keeneland. And racing people are wondering if these are omens.

Keeneland Park in Florida opened its current meeting to a record crowd on Jan. 14. But on Jan. 17, the war started. Since then, tourism has plunged and attendance and betting at the race track have dropped 10 percent from a year ago.

Santa Anita in California, which is usually spared the uncertainties of tourism and weather, is averaging 4.1 percent fewer customers this season, and they are betting 5.2 percent fewer dollars.

Aqueduct in New York, which labors through

the winter every year, is laboring more than ever this winter. Attendance is off by 14 percent, betting by 13 percent.

Is the recession eroding the lifestyle centered on the horse? Is the war stemming the flow of money from Arabian investors, and transforming the financial structure of thoroughbred breeding?

Or is horse racing reflecting a cutback in the public's spending on travel and leisure because of both the recession and the war?

On the international level, the answer for now seems to be no. The bloodstock market has been sinking for some years, initially because of changes in tax laws, lately because of the recession. But the heavy investors from the Middle East are probably wealthy enough to withstand fluctuations. And their horse holdings are based mainly in Kentucky and Britain.

On the national level, the answer seems to be yes. There are fewer people betting fewer dollars at race tracks around the country. The recession diverts their money; the war diverts their interest.

"Everybody's weeping," said Joe Tannenbaum, a racing official at Gulfstream Park. "Dogs, travel, horses. The tourists aren't coming in big numbers, and the locals are staying home."

## SIDELINES

## French Yachtsman Leads in BOC

SYDNEY (AFP) — French yachtsman Alain Gautier, sailing Generali Concorde, on Thursday held the lead among the 21 competitors in the BOC round-the-world race for solo sailors.

The third leg of the race started here on Sunday. The leaders were expected to make the 7,200-mile (11,587-kilometer) haul around Cape Horn in Chile to Punta del Este, Uruguay, in about four weeks.

At Sydney, halfway point in the 27,000-mile race, South African John Martin had held a slim lead in Allied Bank. Frenchman Christophe Auguin, in Groupe Socia, who is third overall, was lying second Thursday.

Isabelle Autissier, also of France and the only woman in the race, was 20 miles behind Jeanot in Ecurie.

## Gunnarsson Upsets Chesnokov

MILAN (UPI) — Jan Gunnarsson of Sweden upset third-seeded Soviet Andrei Chesnokov, 6-4, 6-3, on Thursday to advance to the quarterfinals of a \$600,000 ATP tournament.

Gunnarsson, 28, brought into the 32-man draw when Italian Paolo Canè withdrew, next will meet fifth-seeded Jakob Hlasek of Switzerland.

## For the Record

French first division soccer team Bordeaux got its third president in four months on Thursday as Jean Pierre Deroose took over. Businessman Alain Afflelou gave up the job after he was unable to propose a way out of the club's debts, estimated at 300 million francs (\$60 million). (AFP)

Australian Kerry Saxby set the 30th world best of her track and field career Thursday night in Melbourne, clocking 11 minutes, 51.26 seconds in the women's 3,000-meter walk. She cut almost 10 seconds off the previous world mark of 12:00.61 held by German Beate Anders. (AP)

Quotable  
● Rod Brooklin, a senior basketball player at the University of Pittsburgh: "I'm going to graduate on time, no matter how long it takes."

## BOOKS

## THE TRUE AND ONLY HEAVEN: Progress and Its Critics

By Christopher Lasch. 591 pages. \$25. W. W. Norton & Co., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10110.

Reviewed by Herbert Mitgang

HAVING seen the United States evolve in the last half-century from the Roosevelt era of social concern for the have-nots to the Reagan era of privilege for the have-mores, Christopher Lasch thinks it's time to brake the motor pulling in the direction of a better life for everybody.

In "The True and Only Heaven," he seems to be saying, let's forget the pursuit of happiness for all by government because it's not possible. Lasch, who teaches history at the University of Rochester, appears consistently negative in his new book.

Eleven years ago in "The Culture of Narcissism," he found the personal conduct of many Americans crass and their ambitions superficial. Now he's annoyed by liberal reformers, whom he admired 25 years ago in what is still his most useful book, "The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963." By contrast, he offers a kinder, gentler treatment of the Reagan administration's flag bearers.

In a large sense, Lasch is challenging the reader to take a hard look at the social compact of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau — whose ideas of equality and progress are at the core of modern liberal

governments — and see if that unwritten compact is still relevant in the last decade of this century.

"The assumption that our standard of living (in the broadest meaning of that term) will undergo a steady improvement colors our view of the past as well as our view of the future," the author writes.

"It gives rise to a nostalgic yearning for bygone simplicity — the other side of the ideology of progress. Nostalgia, not to be equated simply with the remembrance of things past, is better understood as an abdication of memory."

Lasch is anything but nostalgic. He makes the startling assumption that the middle class has ceased to exist. Citing a study by the United Auto Workers, he says a middle-class income (between \$20,000 and \$60,000 a year in 1985 dollars, as defined by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics) allows a family to buy a two-year-old car and keep it for four years, to buy a vacuum cleaner that would have to last for 14 years and a toaster for 33 years, to go to the movies once every 3 months and to save nothing at all.

He says that more than half of American households now owe more than they are worth. Yet as Michael Harrington pointed out three decades ago in "The Other America," poverty is a relative condition; there is indeed a distinction between the truly poor and the middle class, even with its car payments, mortgages and unbalanced checkbooks. Undoubtedly, the struggling unemployed

would gladly trade places with such a supposedly non-existent middle class.

There's a certain contrary attitude — expressed in the subtitle "Progress and Its Critics" — that runs through the book. Lasch has a remarkable ability to admire and deplore in the same breath.

Of the Reagan legacy, Lasch says that it included "economic conservatism and cultural liberalism." It's hard to imagine what cultural liberalism existed in the anti-libertarian 1980s.

The author writes that what Reagan really cared about was "the revival of the unregulated capitalism of the 20s: the repeal of the New Deal." He adds that Reagan made himself the champion of "traditional values," before he mounted his horse and rode off into the California sunset.

In his synthesis of American political and personal life in "The True and Only Heaven," Lasch turns to the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, William James, Thomas Carlyle, Reinhold Niebuhr and others. These are the most appealing sections of the book.

He also touches upon his own changing values as a former leftist who, he admits, once found Marxism indispensable.

In his vision of "The True and Only Heaven" for America in the 1990s, Lasch seems to play it safely down the middle of the last century.

Herbert Mitgang is on the staff of The New York Times.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

THE degree of interest in a duplicate deal often depends on the number of different contracts reached. If every table reaches the same contract, the tendency is toward dullness; if there is a wide range of results, the post-mortems are likely to be lengthy.

On the diagrammed deal, there were 11 different contracts, from the two-level to the six-level.

East-West played in clubs at every level from three to six, and found that four was high enough. They tried two spades and three spades, which were easy, and three no-trump, which was less easy. It succeeded after the lead of the heart ten, but failed after a spade lead: When South gained the lead with the club ace he underled his heart honors and West played the nine with fatal results.

North-South played in two spades doubled, which was not good, three hearts, sometimes doubled, and two hearts doubled. The heart contracts were the most interesting. For West had to make a crucial play at the second trick after leading a top diamond. Two West experts defended well by leading the heart jack at the second trick, and South was told to seven tricks. He scored five trump tricks in his hand, the club ace and one ruff in the dummy.

Both sides were vulnerable. The bidding:

WEST		EAST (D)	
1♦	197432	1♦	AK1085
2♦	97872	2♦	1084
3♦	4762	3♦	EJ1095
SOUTH			
1♦	AKQ863		
2♦	Q82		
3♦	A843		

West led the diamond king.

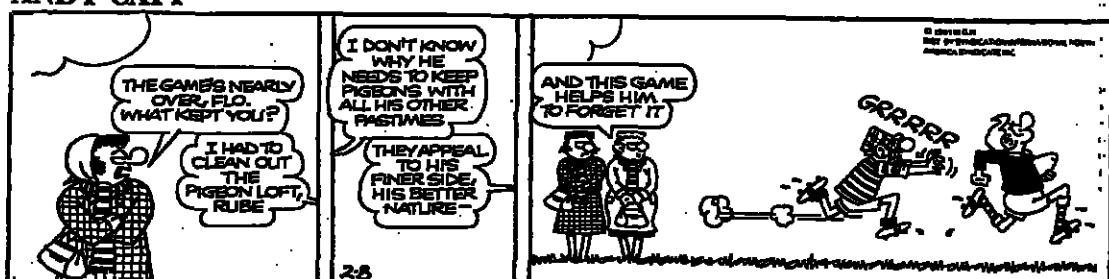
## PEANUTS



## BEETLE BAILEY



## ANDY CAPP



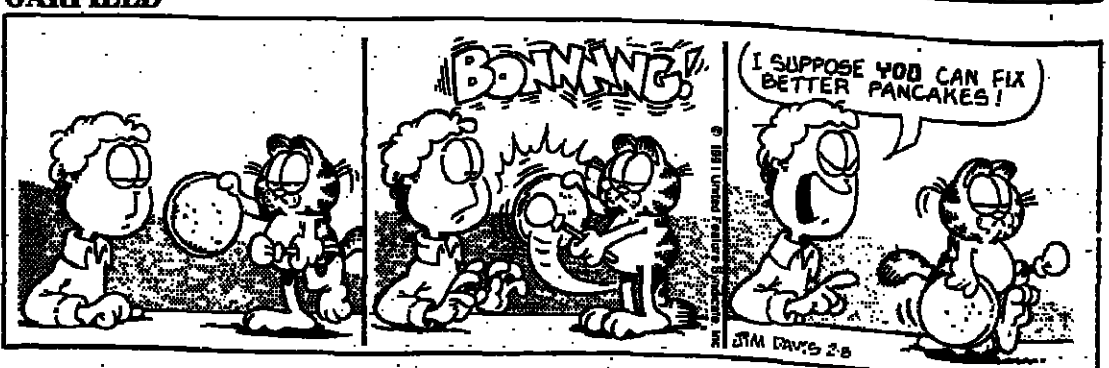
## WIZARD of ID



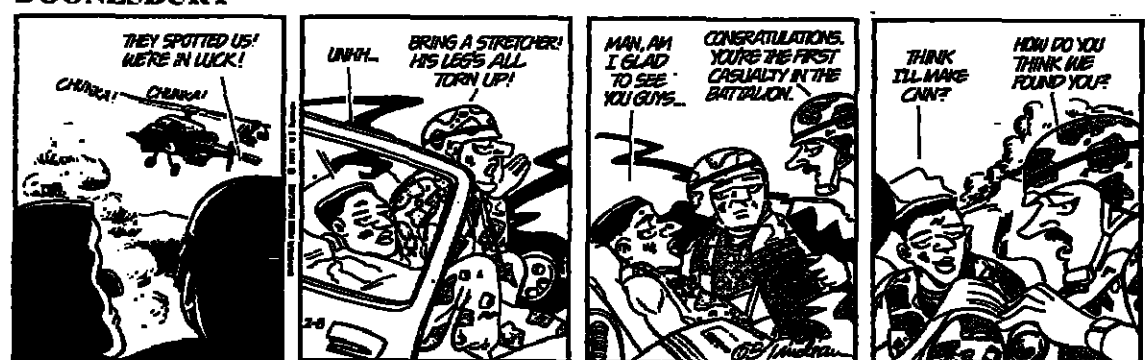
## REX MORGAN



## GARFIELD



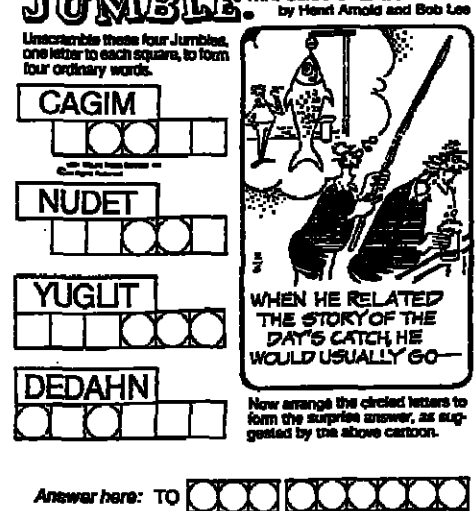
## DOONESBURY



## DENNIS THE MENACE



## JUMBLE



## BLONDIE



\*DUT DON'T YOU WANT TO SEE WHAT I'D DO IF I WAS IN YOUR SHOES?

مکان الاصل



SPORTS

Svan Wins Record 7th World Title

**The Associated Press**  
VAL DI FIEMME, Italy — Gunde Svan of Sweden held off defending champion Vladimir Smirnov of the Soviet Union by 4.9 seconds to win the men's 30-kilometer classical style cross-country race on Thursday at the World Nordic Ski Championships.  
Svan's time was 1 hour, 16 minutes, 12.4 seconds on the high-altitude course at this Italian resort.  
It was a record seventh world championship for Svan, 29.  
But Svan said he didn't expect to win, having missed almost two weeks in training in both December and January because of the flu.  
"I don't know how I could do it," he said after Smirnov, the next to last starter in a field of 76, had crossed the finish line. "I was very uncertain about my form when I came here."  
Vegard Ulvang of Norway, who was runner-up behind Smirnov in the 1989 World Nordic Championships in Finland, fell near the end of the course and finished third. He was 20.4 seconds behind Svan.  
Svan's second world title in the 30 kilometers ended a Soviet domination of the event in the last two major championships. Alexei Prokhorov won the 1988 Olympic gold medal, ahead of Smirnov and Ulvang.

Top Finishers

Top finishers in men's 30-kilometer cross-country race Thursday at Cortina, Italy: 1. Gunde Svan, Sweden, 1 hour, 16 minutes, 12.4 seconds; 2. Vladimir Smirnov, Soviet Union, 1:17:02.3; 3. Vegard Ulvang, Norway, 1:17:42.4; 4. Terje Lunde, Norway, 1:18:04.6; 5. Henrik Ronsbo, Norway, 1:18:17.5; 6. Aleksandr Zhurav, Soviet Union, 1:18:27.4; 7. Lennart Svahn, Sweden, 1:18:30.0; 8. Christer Svahn, Sweden, 1:18:31.0; 9. Christer Svahn, Sweden, 1:18:31.0; 10. Christer Svahn, Sweden, 1:18:31.0.

Downhill Practice Off

Snow forced the cancellation of Thursday's final practice session for a double men's World Cup alpine skiing downhill on Friday and Saturday. Reuters reported from Val d'Isere, France.

Heavy snowfall near the top of the Belleville piste, which is being used for next year's Winter Olympics, made visibility too poor for skiers to be able to start their run, organizers said.

France's Heinz Heide could clinch the season's World Cup downhill title by winning both Friday and Saturday. The Swiss leads the downhill standings with 69 points.

Heide's fastest time in Thursday's second and last training run on the new piste.

The women's World Cup circuit, meanwhile, is stopping in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, for a downhill on Friday and a super-giant slalom on Saturday.

France's Carole Merle is hoping to profit from the absence of World Cup overall leader Petra Kronberger of Austria in the races.

Kronberger has a 184-point lead over Merle in the overall rankings, but only a 23-point lead in the downhill and a 32-point advantage in the super-G. Kronberger is expected to miss several weeks after injuring her knee in a fall last month.



The WBC super welterweight champion, Terry Norris, left, says of Sugar Ray Leonard: "There is no way he can win this fight." Norris is 23 and Leonard is 34.

Norris: Shadowboxing in Search of the Spotlight

By Michael Martinez  
New York Times Service

CAMPO, California — The road here is long and sometimes desolate, and a wrong turn can lead to nowhere. But eventually, the highway from San Diego bends toward a paved off-ramp, which leads suddenly to a lonely dirt path, which winds its way past a house and toward a broad yellow barn on a small hill.  
In the walls of the two-story barn, seemingly lost in the mountains near the Cleveland National Forest, the World Boxing Council's super welterweight champion, Terry Norris, has been preparing for the fight of his life for more than three months. It is not a fight he takes lightly, since a victory would surely springboard Norris from obscurity to stardom.

So he wakes every morning and runs, lifts weights, spars, trains and then sleeps again, knowing he will gain instant celebrity if he steps into the Madison Square Garden ring on Saturday in New York and beats his opponent, Sugar Ray Leonard, the aging but capable former champion.

The task is an interesting one for Norris, 23, who grew up idolizing Leonard, now 34 and somewhat still fighting. When Norris speaks of Leonard, his remarks are a blend of admiration and tough talk.

He was 9 when Leonard won an Olympic gold medal, but so many years have passed that Norris now believes his time has arrived.

"There is no way he can win this fight," Norris said on a recent afternoon at his camp. "His only advantage is his ring smarts, but I have all the other advantages: Hand speed, foot speed, power. He's had quite a few fights, but I've been through so much, too."

What Norris does not have is the marquee attraction and the respect he believes he will receive by beating Leonard. Although he has been WBC champion since a first-round knockout of John (the Beast) Mugabi last March, he remains, for the most part, an unknown to all but the most ardent followers of boxing. He retained his title last July with a 12-round victory over Rene Jacquot of France and is 26-3 with 14 knockouts.

Norris's trainer, Abel Sanchez, said confidently, "This is not a 'Rocky' saga. Terry isn't coming out of nowhere. He's the champ, Ray Leonard is the challenger."

Perhaps Norris is unrecognized because he has trained and lived the last five years at the ranch owned by his manager, Joe Sayatovich, who converted a portion of his property into a training facility.

Situated in the Cameron Valley less than five miles (eight kilometers) from the Mexican border, Sayatovich's ranch is a haven for a half dozen young boxers, including Norris, who followed his older brother, Orlin Norris Jr., to the facility and never left.

The Norris-Sayatovich-Sanchez alliance does not see the fight as a gamble. Leonard only began training for the bout in late December. In a sense, Norris has been preparing all his life.

"He's the kind of guy you have to pull back," Sanchez said. "He hasn't peaked, but it's a matter of keeping him sharp."

Are they taking Leonard too lightly? Perhaps. "He doesn't worry us," Sanchez said. "It's not going to be an easy fight, but he doesn't worry us. If Terry was going to fight Ray Leonard when Leonard was in his prime in '79, it would be an even fight. But Leonard is 34 years old now."

Said Norris: "I've had several dreams about it, but I'm always the victor."

Norris was 9 when he fell in love with boxing, but he said his path was derailed for several years in high school in Lubbock, Texas, where he was born and raised. He was an exceptional baseball player and batted .417, attracting a number of college scholarship offers. But a brawl, which he said was triggered by a racial epithet, caused him to lose interest quickly.

"We were playing another team one day," Norris recalled, "and there were some racial comments made toward me. I was a little thrown off by it. I rushed the guy who said them, and their whole team jumped on me. I put three guys in the hospital, which was the bad thing of it. People said things like, 'Maybe this guy's a troublemaker,' so a lot of my scholarships fell through."

That pointed Norris back toward boxing, which he began to pursue in earnest after following his brother, a ranked heavyweight, to Sayatovich's ranch.

"When he got here, he was 18," Sayatovich said. "He's become an adult in those five years."

Norris also got married, bought his own home in nearby Alpine and became a father. Even when he is not in training for a bout, he comes to the big yellow barn six days a week to work out.

By his own admission, Norris frequently pushes himself too much. In preparation for Leonard, he is sparring 12 rounds every other day and lifting weights, something considered a taboo in the fight game.

"I have a tendency to work myself too much," he conceded.

There will be no trouble viewing Leonard, who has never been knocked out, as great.

"Beating Leonard, you don't have any idea what it would mean to me," he said. "My life is at stake, but the respect from everybody in the whole world is at stake, too. That's what I want, the respect, so that when I walk outside, people will know who I am, not see me as just a shadow."

Foreman-Holyfield Might Be Moved

The Evander Holyfield-George Foreman heavyweight championship fight scheduled for April 19 in Atlantic City, New Jersey, may be switched to Las Vegas and postponed a week, The Associated Press reported from Atlanta.

Co-promoter Bob Arum, at a news conference on Thursday, said that promoters were guaranteed \$11 million by Donald Trump to hold the fight at his Trump Plaza Hotel and Casino. But Arum said Trump is trying to invoke a "war clause" and renegotiate the fee to between \$5 million and \$6 million.

"It's apparent Mr. Trump can't perform the contract terms," Arum said. "In that case we will move the fight to Las Vegas. It also may be postponed a week to April 26."

Arum said the contract was signed Jan. 12, but amended Jan. 20 after the Gulf war started. A provision in the contract said the fight could be postponed due to an act of God or a war, but "short of an invasion of Atlantic City by Saddam Hussein, that hasn't happened," Arum said.

Wolfpack Upsets North Carolina and Gets Set to Go Again

**The Associated Press**  
North Carolina State's players hardly had time to celebrate their upset of ninth-ranked North Carolina before it was time to face the same opponent again.

The Wolfpack beat the Tar Heels, 97-91, Wednesday night by using just six players while North Carolina employed 14 in the game in Raleigh, North Carolina. But they were to play again Thursday night in Chapel Hill, meeting back-to-back because their first game was postponed Jan. 16 when the war began in the Gulf.

"The real party will be if we win" Thursday, said the Wolfpack's Chris Corbiam. "It will all be tarnished if we lose."

But to win, the Wolfpack players knew they would have to move slowly, perhaps relying again on three-point shooting.

"The key will be to go out and play as hard as we can," said Rick Fox, who scored 22 points to lead North Carolina (15-4 overall, 4-3 Atlantic Coast Conference).

"They have to be tired," King Rice said of the Wolfpack (12-6, 5-3). "We're just going to get after them."

Wednesday night's game between the Atlantic Coast Conference rivals was played at breakneck pace.

Rodney Monroe scored 21 of his 37 points in the second half as North Carolina State began shooting three-pointers, making 12 of 23 long-range shots.

Despite losing, the Tar Heels were even more impressive, hitting 14 of 25 from beyond the three-point line.

But when the Tar Heels closed to 92-91 on a three-pointer by Hubert Davis, it was Monroe, the ACC's leading scorer at 28.6 per game.

Joey Brown scored 17 points, including seven free throws in the final four minutes for Georgetown, which had only one basket in the final 10. That was a layup by Mutoombo with 15 seconds remaining.

Arkansas State, 76, No. 21 New Orleans 65; Bobby Gross scored 20 points as the Indians pulled off the upset in Jonesboro, Arkansas.

Who came to the fore. He made four free throws down the stretch to settle the outcome.

Tom Gugliotta had 23 points and 10 rebounds for the Wolfpack. No. 18 Kansas 85, No. 15 Nebraska 77; Richard Scott scored the first six points in a 14-4 second-half surge, vaulting the Jayhawks (16-4, 5-2 Big Eight) over the visiting Cornhuskers (18-4, 4-3).

Kansas is 11-0 at home this season.

Kansas led by 56-55 early in the second half when Scott, who had 14 points, banked in a shot to start the decisive run. A moment later, Scott's basket gave the Jayhawks a 60-55 lead. Then he stole a Nebraska pass and scored at the other end of the court.

No. 20 Georgetown 79, Providence 68; Dikembe Mutombo had 20 points and eight blocked shots, and Alonzo Mourning contributed 15 points, 10 rebounds and six blocks as the Hoyas (14-6, 7-3 Big East) won in Landover, Maryland.

The rebound total matched Mourning's season-high, and was his best in six games since returning from a strained left ankle that had sidelined for about a month.

"I don't think he's all the way back," Mutombo said. "But when he is, he'll be at a whole other level."

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Arkansas State, 76, No. 21 New Orleans 65; Bobby Gross scored 20 points as the Indians pulled off the upset in Jonesboro, Arkansas.

Who came to the fore. He made four free throws down the stretch to settle the outcome.

Tom Gugliotta had 23 points and 10 rebounds for the Wolfpack. No. 18 Kansas 85, No. 15 Nebraska 77; Richard Scott scored the first six points in a 14-4 second-half surge, vaulting the Jayhawks (16-4, 5-2 Big Eight) over the visiting Cornhuskers (18-4, 4-3).

Kansas is 11-0 at home this season.

Kansas led by 56-55 early in the second half when Scott, who had 14 points, banked in a shot to start the decisive run. A moment later, Scott's basket gave the Jayhawks a 60-55 lead. Then he stole a Nebraska pass and scored at the other end of the court.

No. 20 Georgetown 79, Providence 68; Dikembe Mutombo had 20 points and eight blocked shots, and Alonzo Mourning contributed 15 points, 10 rebounds and six blocks as the Hoyas (14-6, 7-3 Big East) won in Landover, Maryland.



